

THE  
ANTIGALLICAN; 2

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OR, THE

LOVER OF HIS OWN COUNTRY:

IN A SERIES OF PIECES PARTLY HERETOFORE PUBLISHED AND  
PARTLY NEW, WHEREIN

*French Influence,*

AND

FALSE PATRIOTISM,

ARE

*FULLY AND FAIRLY DISPLATED.*

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BY A CITIZEN OF NEW ENGLAND.

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*December, 1797.*

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

1857-58

OF HIS OWN COUNTRY

AND THE HISTORY OF THE

BRITISH MUSEUM



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1857-58



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## DEDICATION.

*TO any honest antifederalist, (if there be such an one) who is neither actuated by envy, malice, or views of personal aggrandizement, and who is wholly untainted by Foreign Influence, the following pieces are respectfully inscribed*

*By the Author.*

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# DEDICATION

TO our loved and faithful friends (if  
there be such an one) who is united  
to us by every tie of love, and who  
of personal acquaintance, and who  
is united by every tie of love. In  
honor, the following lines are respectfully  
inscribed

By the Author

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T H E  
**ANTIGALLICAN;**

OR THE  
**LOVER OF HIS OWN COUNTRY.**

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**FRENCH INFLUENCE. No. I.**

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**T**HE situation of this country, as it respects its foreign relations, is truly critical and alarming. The ensuing season is universally considered as pregnant with events highly interesting to America. An ardent zeal for its welfare, and a trembling anxiety for its fate, appear to pervade nearly all descriptions of citizens. Happy would it be for the public, if this common zeal excited by a strong sense of national injury, could absorb the unhappy distinctions of party which have hitherto prevailed to disunite us. But, let not the philosopher, anxious for the honour of human nature, expect so desirable an event. The superstructure which he raised, upon so feeble a foundation, will by the passions of mankind be tumbled to the ground. The pride, obstinacy, and malevolence of the human heart, will form too powerful barriers to so desirable an object.

France has exhibited to the world a painful example, and has taught us in letters of blood, that no common interest, no national danger, no general zeal can stifle the efforts of misguided ambition, or arrest the hydra of faction in his ruinous career. While the combined force of all Europe, urged by the pride and interest of monarchs, and aided by fanaticism, was threatening them with instant destruction, they had to contend with far more dangerous enemies in the restless and ambitious, intriguing and abandoned spirits in the bosom of their country. But we need not recur to the history of  
other



other nations to prove this unwelcome, this unpleasant truth. Our own annals furnish ample materials for conviction. Faction has been coeval with the government itself—no system of measures, no administration, no individuals connected with the government and pursuing its welfare, have escaped the virulent attacks of disorganizers—A constitution founded on the genuine unadulterated principles of liberty, an administration seeking the public good, freely and frequently elected, and following the principles of the constitution, have been misrepresented, vilified, abused and more than once exposed to open insurrection.

The friends to government have been branded with the odious epithets of British satellites, aristocrats and monarchists—men who have bled in the service of their country, and who have grown grey in the public councils, have been charged with traitorous designs, with intentions to bring the country again under the dominion of Great Britain.—The laudable attempts to support public credit, to place the finances of the nation on a respectable footing, have been represented as plans to involve the nation in debt—to burden the people with taxes—to strengthen the executive authority—to increase the number of dependents upon government and imitate the pernicious policy of European nations in adopting the maxim, that a public debt is a public blessing. In these, and in a thousand other forms, more various than those of Proteus, has the spirit of faction appeared in this country.—But it has been our misfortune to have a force given to our factions, an energy and stability to disorganization, from which the larger nations of Europe are exempt.

Foreign influence has with us, directed, ruled and managed all our divisions with a view to produce the greatest possible effect upon our public councils.

It will be asked from what nation has this influence proceeded? A disorganiser will say, from Great Britain.—A moderate, or trimmer, will answer from Great Britain and France equally.

But though it has long been unfashionable to speak plain truths against our dear ally, I will reply boldly, from France as a monarchy, still more from France as a republic. It will not be contended that Great Britain during our revolutionary war, while she was openly in hostility with us, maintained any influence in our civil or military councils. The immortal WASHINGTON had not at that time been charged with trembling at the power, or being seduced by the influence of his then deadly foe, and the heroic HAMILTON, while leading his

his brave companions to conquest, was not suspected of being polluted with British gold.

But it is equally certain that France (who at that time it is confessed lent us no more aid than was necessary to aggrandize herself, and humble a powerful rival) had an artful and intriguing minister situated *near* our public councils, and if he did not *create* a party in congress, at that period, it is certain, that he *directed* and *governed* one.

That this same influence has been invariably exerted from that period to the present—that it has, from its greatness and extent, prevented the exercise of any influence on the part of the British—that it has produced indecent, unreasonable and injurious national partialities and antipathies—that it has infected at times the general mass of American citizens, excited their passions unduly, poisoned their repose, destroyed their love of order, choked their patriotism, blinded their understandings, and rendered them incapable of seeing their true interests, I shall endeavour to prove in a following number.

LEONIDAS.

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#### FRENCH INFLUENCE. No. II.

THE influence which the government of France has endeavoured to maintain in this country, is too apparent to every honest and enlightened American to require elaborate proof.—But the truth of the proposition has been so often denied by the zealous partizans of France, and the *adroitness* of the statesmen of that nation in acquiring an ascendancy in the public opinion of foreign nations is so great, and so universally admitted, that it may not be amiss to summon to our aid the proofs which have so often been adduced by writers on this subject, and which cannot be too deeply engraven on the mind of every true friend to his country. During the war in which we were allies with France against Great Britain, a sense of common interest, a belief that the aid of France was useful to us in a contest, highly momentous to America, and above all, a generous confidence peculiar to our national character, forbade us to harbour any suspicions of a gallant nation, whose soldiers were fighting at our sides. The citizens of America not immediately in administration had no opportunities of observing the artful Machiavelian policy of the king of France, and his favourite minister, VERGENNES, in

in attempting to gain a strong footing in the supreme legislature, and with our foreign ministers. In a war, in which an infant nation was struggling against its parent state, in which debility and inexperience were opposed to Herculean force, and energetic counsels, in a war, in which the fears and anxiety of the people were constantly on the stretch, it would have been the worst policy to have exposed the intrigues and artifices of our most powerful ally.

But it is a well known fact, hitherto uncontested, in its nature indisputable, and one that I have always thought should have been earlier made public, that the *intrigues* and *influence* of the French court in the congress of the United States, and with a certain American minister resident in France, were so great, and so palpable as to alarm the honest statesmen of that day, and to oblige them to exert their utmost talents to counteract their effects. If it would be fair, to call as witnesses before the tribunal of the public, many who are still at the helm, and who were personally acquainted with the fact, I could summon a host whom the most virulent democrat would not feel disposed to discredit. I should not confine myself to the venerable Samuel Adams, J. Adams, Dana, Jay, Gerry and the northern delegation; but I would confront them with the Lees, Livingstons, Madison, Jefferson, and other enlightened statesmen from the southern states. But as such a collision might recal some unpleasant reflections, and as my object is to smooth asperities rather than increase them, I willingly forbear.—Public records, are by many persons, esteemed of higher authority, than any evidence derived from oral testimony—to such I would refer as proofs of my assertions, the Journals of Congress both public and private. In the course of which will be found multiplied examples of motions, votes and resolutions always brought forward by the same characters, and invariably favouring the views and objects of France in contradistinction to those of our own country. The most eminently disgraceful of which, I cannot refrain from mentioning, although it has been frequently adduced by able pens. I allude to a resolution passed in congress, directing our ambassadors to take no steps relative to peace without first consulting and having the approbation of the prime minister of France. Happy for this country the spirit and good sense of our ministers led them to disregard a resolution, (originating as they well knew in the secret intrigues and private influence of the French court) and breaking through the fetters at the risque of their lives and fortunes, they obtained for their country an honourable



able peace, and for themselves immortal fame. The treaty of amity and commerce, and the consular convention with France, are public acts which carry on the face of them incontestible evidence, and have in their effects afforded the most painful proofs of the influence under which they were made. The former of these instruments was made under the auspices of Franklin, Deane and Lee, and the latter under those of Mr. Jefferson alone. By the first France secured to herself our important and growing trade, and intended to retain the power of hampering and restraining it. She has cunningly reserved to herself the right in *all* events of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, but in the *event of her* conquering that island, we are to be excluded, and our ships liable to confiscation, if they are found fishing there.—When first made, this treaty contained two articles (No. XI. and XII.) which even the French partizans had not the hardihood to defend, and which congress indignantly rescinded as too humiliating for an independent nation.

By the consular convention, France effected what was the darling wish of their politic ministry, the legal establishment of privileged spies.

It will not be pretended that her trade at that time required so expensive an establishment.

Independent and unheard-of powers, judicial and executive, were given to consuls, who had hitherto been viewed merely as commercial agents.

In what manner this has operated by the establishment of spies under the monarchy of France, and by the legalized support of zealous apostles of liberty, jacobinism and faction, under the Republic, what powerful instruments they have proved in making profelytes, and (some of our Jacobins may add) martyrs to the cause of liberty, shall be more fully unfolded in my next number.

LÉONIDAS.

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### FRENCH INFLUENCE. No. III.

**T**HAT we may be enabled the more justly to form an estimate of the degree and extent of the French influence in this country, it will be proper to pause here a moment and reflect upon the nature of public opinion, how it is to be collected, and in what manner it may be excited, created or directed.

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In every civil society the majority unless roused by some appeal to their passions or interest, are quiescent and inactive. In a republican government like ours, the great body of the people are perfectly easy and repose with confidence on the rulers whom they have freely elected and whom they know to be equally interested with themselves in the promotion of the public welfare and happiness.

But in every society however happy the general state of it may be, there will be persons of some one of the following descriptions: Restless, uneasy spirits, impatient of restraint—sour, morose, malevolent hearts—disposed to view the fair objects of nature and art, the beautiful system of laws, order and public happiness, with jaundiced eyes—depressed, desperate, profligate, abandoned wretches, possessed of a gambling spirit, desirous of change; or vain ambitious minds, purse-proud men, but of dull and feeble talents, who think that their merits are overlooked, and who wish an overturn for the sake of gratifying their rage for distinction. These various descriptions abound more or less in different countries according to the state of manners.—In England Mr. BURKE computes them at one fifth of those who think at all, but supposes that unless carefully watched they are sufficiently numerous to overthrow the government. In this country, I do not believe that more than one tenth of those who are capable of forming any opinion for themselves are of any of the foregoing descriptions, but though so despicable in numbers and character, yet they are so subtle, active, persevering, indefatigable and organized, that we have seen them effect in a few weeks an almost total change in the opinions of their fellow-citizens, assume the language and authority of the people, and threaten the very existence of government.—Taught this truth, partly by their experience in their own country and partly by observation of the American character, the emissaries of France early learned how to acquire an *influence*, and had almost discovered how to obtain a *dominion* over the opinions and conduct of the open and unsuspecting Americans.—From the peace of 1783 until the period when the Jacobin faction had erected a new despotism in France upon the ruins of the old, no particular occasions existed to call forth the intriguing spirit of the French government. We do not therefore find any particular exercise of this their darling propensity.

They contented themselves with filling up the full quota of diplomatic and consular agents who were well employed in watching every interesting movement of our government, and who were ready marshalled to commence effective operations

tions as events or occasions might require. Such an occasion unfortunately for this until now happy country too soon presented itself. The first steps towards liberty which the French nation adopted, having for their object simply a diminution of the royal prerogatives, and an amelioration of the condition of the commonalty and peasantry were, received in this country with universal and unfeigned pleasure. Our public papers teemed with congratulations on the auspicious event.—When therefore the *mild, humane*, and philosophic WARVILLE and his accomplices, of the Girondist faction, aimed the sanguinary steel against the head of their unfortunate monarch, (to whom, if to any of the French nation, we were *under obligation*)—When they perceived that all Europe stood aghast at the horrid spectacle, and that incensed humanity was urging combined nations to vindicate her rights, it was to be expected that they should turn their views to America, as their only friend. Selecting then one of their most darling and intriguing spirits, a man who had already proved his abilities against the devoted heads of the unhappy *Genevans*, and recalling from this country a minister who had too much honesty and too great friendship for us to be trusted, they sent out this emissary to *draw closer* the bonds of *fraternity* which united the *two Republics*. Every artful device, every ingenious scheme, every plausible, every fascinating sentiment was to be suggested to entrap us. To please our vanity we were to be told, that the French revolution was but an emanation of our own.—That a spark from America had lighted the *holy flame*—to gratify resentments yet warm, to rekindle jealousies hardly extinguished, to resuscitate injuries not yet healed, we were reminded of British tyranny, British treachery, and British cruelty. But above all to captivate the idle and the desperate who have ever since been the warmest friends of French principles, they preached the mild, persuasive and irresistible doctrines of liberty and equality. Mysterious terms! What wonders you have wrought! *Equality* of property! Agrarian laws! *Liberty* to act as our whims, passions or interest dictate! How fascinating to the dissolute! How captivating to the lazy and impoverished Sans-culotte! This hopeful son of sedition, begat by anarchy (the description renders it superfluous to call him Genet) with a dozen choice spirits, in the consular character, to act as aids, were cantoned out at proper distances, in the different parts of the Union.—The happy effects of their exertions and talents have been widely felt and forely realized, but cannot be justly described, without devoting to them a separate number.

LEONIDAS.



## FRENCH INFLUENCE. No. IV.

**T**HE zealous supporters of the federal government, warmed by a just sense of indignation at the attempts made by France to subvert it or make it subservient to her own purposes, may naturally expect, that I shall charge the whole body of opponents to government, admirers and advocates of French principles, with having been corrupted by French gold. No, my fellow-citizens, I am not actuated by so illiberal, intolerant a spirit. The sincere object of these essays, however useless they may prove in the event, is to allay the violence of party zeal, to remove from the great body of antifederalists, that stigma which has been indiscriminately laid upon them—to place upon the heads of the guilty alone the odium they justly merit—to convince their too credulous partizans that they have been deceived by false and hollow professions of patriotism, and that if they reject the incendiary counsels of those *pretended* patriots (who as Mr. FAUCHET declares have all of them their *prices*) the *real* friends to the people, to liberty and law, will receive them with open arms, and will bury all past differences in perpetual oblivion.

Mr. GENET, the incendiary Minister of France, had been educated in the school of sedition and jacobinism.—He knew full well the weak side of the human heart. He had studied the examples of the first masters in the science of instruction, and had learned the secret of governing the majority by the machinations of an artful and an intriguing minority. He had seen, that by two powerful engines, the mightiest monarchy in Europe had been battered to the ground.

A venal and abandoned press, devoted to sedition, is alone sufficient to involve in general ruin, the fairest structures—the most costly edifices of law and of government. But combinations of men, for the purpose of watching the measures, and of “*stopping the wheels*” of a government, whatever they may stile themselves, whether denominated “Constitutional societies,” “Jacobin associations,” or by the more modern and elegant name of “Affiliated Clubs,” are still more masterly inventions in the cause of terrorism and anarchy. I am individually convinced that no form of government, no civil society, can long under any circumstances, withstand the combined force of these two powerful enemies.

Genet,

Genet, fresh from a country in which these terrible instruments of despotism were madly triumphant, heated, boiling over with that fanatic phrenzy, that savage, that fierce dementia which was epidemic in the sanguinary reign of Robespierre, surnamed *the humane*, made his first debarkation at Charleston, South-Carolina—a spot of all others on the continent, the best fitted to promote the *pacific* objects of his mission. That his landing at this place was a part of that nefarious conspiracy to draw this country into the war, or to separate the affections of the people from the government, cannot at this period be denied, since it has been so often repeated in the public prints, and no pretext, no apology either official or private has ever been offered for this daring and outrageous insult upon the dignity of our country. The incendiary minister began his career by granting commissions for privateers to any who applied for them; by encouraging the spirit of rapacity and plunder; by authorizing and procuring the enlistment of soldiers within our territories; by issuing commissions and employing American citizens to begin a military enterprize within our jurisdiction; by receiving repeated addresses publicly as minister of France before he produced his credentials or had received his exequatur; by flattering the passions and the vanity of our citizens, and by persuading them to consider the cause of France as their own in his own fulsome answers to addresses; by professing a regard and an affection for this country and its citizens which the event has proved to be false and deceitful; by engaging on his side, (in what manner or by what means they best can tell) the Editors of several newspapers in the most populous towns of the United States; by encouraging the circulation of those prostituted vehicles of slander; by excluding from those papers (which have since been denominated French) every sentiment and every publication which would have counteracted his views—and lest any candid citizens should doubt the truth of this assertion, I publicly challenge any writer to produce a single publication in Bache's Aurora, Greenleaf's Argus, or the lying Chronicle, in which the federal government or the British nation, if mentioned, have not been abused and execrated, or in which the French measures either in Europe, or with respect to us have not been approved and applauded. Like a weather-cock, or like the Vicar of Bray, they have swivelled round and veered about with all the absurdities, contradictions and barbarities of the French Jacobins. Genet had not only engaged certain papers in support of his vile measures, but he had enlisted the

the ablest writers, whose "consciences had their prices." In what manner this has been done, whether by gold or flattery, is of little moment to the public who have suffered. Mr. Secretary Dallas a British emigrant, can no doubt resolve this point, if properly fee'd. He can inform the public of what nature his reward was for *quibbling* in defence of his patron Genet when charged with his traitorous appeal from the constituted authorities; and if we give any credit to the memorable, and never to be forgotten letter of Mr. Fauchet, Mr. Dallas could give us some light as to the negotiation with the flour-merchants, about which some envious clouds still hang and hover. That Mr. Genet employed an engine still more forcible to batter down the goodly fabric of our constitution; that he had nearly accomplished his object of involving us in the war, if the prudence of our executive had not snatched us from the impending ruin, I will endeavour to establish in my next.

LEONIDAS.

#### FRENCH INFLUENCE. No. V.

**T**HERE has been a period, when Gallic influence and Gallic principles were at the summit of their glory in this country; a period, when the voice of the genius of America was scarcely heard, and when the suggestions of true patriotism and national dignity were either not listened to or despised. At that awful crisis the scales of empire were suspended, and to the eye of philosophic prophecy it was not even problematical, it was highly probable, that America would be seduced into the scale of France, and become the humble suppliant, the willing slave of the despots who rule that nation with an iron rod. That period, so interesting to the fortunes of America, and which posterity will look back to, with horror, was during the mad career of the seditious, inflammatory Genet. In vain would Genet have continued to dispense, with liberal and judicious hand, the louis d'ors and the crowns of France, (unless his resources had been as exhaustless as the mines of Peru) in vain would he have secured by caresses and flattery, the vain and the ambitious of our nation; in vain would he have dispersed his inflammatory and seditious writings through the medium of venal and prostituted presses, the great body of the yeomanry like a firm phalanx, would have stood in battle array, ready to meet, and determined to check the progress of any daring invaders of our *internal* or *external* repose.—

Genet,



Genet, eagle-eyed to discover the barriers which opposed his success, and resolved to accomplish his object, even if the road to it led to civil war, and internal insurrection, introduced into the peaceful city of Philadelphia, hitherto famed for its order, thatbane of all regular government, a Jacobin Club.

In what manner the first promoters of this *pious, constitutional and patriotic Society*, were induced to encourage, to foster, and to support it; whether by *Gold*, or purchases of *Flour*, will probably remain a secret. We cannot extend to them, the candour which we would exercise towards their less informed followers, that they were not aware of the wrongs and injuries they were committing upon their country.

Though Mr. Swanwick, Mr. Clenaghan, Bache and a long list of miserable tools may plead that they were duped, yet this excuse will not preserve the memory of the scientific Rittenhouse, the amiable Hutchinson, and the learned Sergeant, from merited contempt.

As to Mr. secretary Dallas, I presume he wishes for no apology; he glories in the honour of having been foremost in the cause of insurrection, and ardently wishes for another opportunity of exercising his talents. The establishment of the parent club at Philadelphia, paved the way for the creation of them in other populous towns in the United States, Charleston, Baltimore, Pittsburg, New-York, Bennington, Boston, Portsmouth and Portland, soon followed the patriotic example.

Four or five leading characters in each place, men of characters and principles well adapted for the cause of sedition, were all whom Mr. Genet had occasion to secure, and barren indeed must be that soil which will not yield a few Arnolds, a few Dallas's or a few Livingstons. The society once established, no great pains are necessary, to create members or to excite them to violent measures. Novelty, fondness for change, vanity, discontent, ambition, all operate as powerful recruiting officers, to fill up the ranks of affiliating clubs. "To-day, I am nothing, I am only *one* of the people: to-morrow I shall be *something*; I shall be a *member of a club*; a club too to govern, watch, and controul *my servants*, the public agents," is very natural, very powerful, and we have seen, in this country, irresistible language.

The avowed objects of these associations, were to promote the circulation of *useful* information, to guard the cause of liberty which was endangered by the European combination, and to watch the conduct of our own administration, in  
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which they *pretended* to have observed certain *departures* from the spirit of the constitution, and around which they esteemed it the duty of all "good citizens to rally." The real objects of these clubs, were, to accustom our citizens to the newfangled doctrines of the French Jacobins; to familiarize them to the jargon of unmeaning words uttered with holy zeal, and the disorganizing principles of the republicans of France; to call up all the old resentments against Great-Britain, and stimulate us to take an active part in the war with France.

They accordingly published their constitutions and regulations, written in a cool, crafty and artful style, calculated to entrap the unwary and honest citizen. But soon after they were organized, they threw off the mask and came forth as the bold champions of French principles, and of open insurrection. They published their votes and anathemas, as dogmatical and as ridiculous as papal bulls, against every important measure of the federal government. They reprobated in express terms, acts of congress which had been solemnly past, and had been in operation for years. The funding system, the revenue laws, the excise acts, the President's proclamation of neutrality, the appointment of Mr. Jay by the President and Senate, all met with severe and unwarrantable censure. The people were excited to interest themselves against these measures, and to execrate the men who had promoted them.—In short, from one degree of violence they proceeded to another, until they received, what to every ingenuous mind would be the severest punishment, the open and avowed reprimand of the candid, prudent, enlightened, good and immortal Washington. In *any other country*, the leaders would have received the punishment of traitors; The event will be hereafter detailed.

LEONIDAS.

#### FRENCH INFLUENCE. No. VI.

REASONING from the nature of man, and of civil society, abstracted from experience, a philosopher might fairly deduce, the dangerous nature, the pernicious effects of organized clubs; he would naturally observe, that such associations had a tendency to excite and foment a spirit of party, to localize and narrow the feelings of the members of them, to separate their feelings, their pride and their interest from those of the community at large; to establish that

bane

bane of all governments, that monster so universally dreaded in ancient as well as modern times, the "*Imperium in imperio*"—that such clubs when opposed to a government, become the more dangerous, as they were enabled to act with more system, to preserve more consistency, to facilitate the communication of slander and traitorous objects, and to operate with more unity and stronger effect, than detached individuals possibly could do. But the melancholy tale, founded on the experience of the unhappy French, and corroborated by some interesting events in this country, affords a darker picture.

Anarchy, insurrection, rapine and murder, have marked the bloody footsteps of disorganizing clubs in France, and if we have happily escaped these baneful effects, these horrid outrages, it is rather to be attributed to the good sense of our people, the wisdom and prudence of our rulers, than to any spirit of moderation, any solid principles of virtue, in our "*constitutional*" societies. The only striking feature, which was ever unveiled to the eye of an injured and indignant public, was a mean, servile, childish imitation of the maternal club, at Paris. They copied, like the Chinese, with too much minuteness; they adopted not only the captivating principles of French "*Liberty and Equality*," but they introduced their style, their bombastic and turgid expressions: they affected also the republican rudeness (in France termed simplicity)—in their manners, their conduct, and conversation. Like them, too, they attempted to influence the public opinion, by raree shows, by civic feasts, by republican symbols, by revolutionary music. They even dared at certain periods, to applaud the cut-throat tunes intended to excite French mobs to plunder, outrage and murder, and to censure American music, commemorative of our national honour.

So widely diffusive was their influence, so subversive of national pride, and national honour, that a cold apathy appeared to pervade the great mass of the community. The basest insults upon our government, our neutral rights, from French insolence, not only escaped censure, but found dastardly advocates. If there were in the nation some who burned with indignation at those abuses, they were either intimidated by the threats or overawed by the influence of *what appeared* to be the public opinion. While on the other hand through the instrumentality of the Jacobins, the people were inflamed and outrageous at every aggression of the British. Every injury, every outrage of that nation, (all of which were unjustifiable) were magnified and distorted.

C.

War,

War, horrid war, with that insolent foe, was the most moderate measure we could adopt. Honestus, at one time the prop and the oracle of the Jacobin club at Boston, in a speech which will not soon be forgotten, undertook to prove that we were at that time, and had long been at *open war* with Great Britain. This *great* statesman has now changed his note, and viewing injuries through the dense medium of Gallic influence, he cannot perceive any thing irritating, any thing unjustifiable, any thing indeed which is not *commendable* in the conduct of France towards America. The prudence of our executive in preferring honourable negotiation to humiliating war, in the case of Great Britain, was called puffedantry, nay, it was even hinted, that WASHINGTON was absorbed in the vortex of *Britannic influence*.

In the case of French depredations, French barbarities, French insults, more cruel, more outrageous, more unwarrantable, more *ungrateful* to a country, which *honestly* and *sincerely cherished* her cause, no measures can be too lenient, no condescension too mean. Though her haughty tyrants, in all the turgid insolence of power, should kick our ministers from their presence, and spurn at our humble and modest supplications; though, with more bombastic pomp than would disgrace an Eastern vizier, the directory did in "*fact*," refuse to admit our *special envoy* (for such was Mr. Pinckney) to an audience, disdained to enter into a correspondence with him, and made his secretary major Rutledge, stand like a *lacquey*, behind their chairs; though with an insolence unparalleled even in their treatment to the degraded Hollanders, or the wretched Genevans, they have insisted in *writing*, that they will not receive "*ANY minister*" from the United States until we have complied with all the unreasonable and humiliating demands of France: yet there are still to be found in this country, miserable sycophants who not only *palliate* but *applaud* this infamous conduct; who rejoice in their country's woe; who would kiss the hand that lacerates, and bow to the imperious head, which dictates such disgraceful terms to our country.—That these sentiments are solely the effects of the influence I have described, and that we have always had more reason to be offended with France than with Great Britain, I shall attempt to prove hereafter.

LEONIDAS.



THE writings over the signature of "LEONIDAS," do honour, to the head and heart of the writer : as a statesman he appears to be thoroughly acquainted with the dispositions and proceedings of our government towards France : as a patriot he is anxious to exonerate his country from those libellous charges of *perfidy* and *ingratitude*, which have been made against her by GENET, FAUCHET, and ADET ; and which have been aided by the abominable treachery of many American Arnolds, who have sold their consciences for French gold, and have belied and traduced the legitimate government of a country which is disgraced in having given birth to them ; merely that they might find favour in the sight of the rulers of France, and share in the general plunder of friends and foes.

That the American Republic should silently submit to the repeated *libels* on its government and people ; that it should tamely bear insult and outrage, appears to be the wish of those who have grown callous in the same infamous line of conduct : but heaven be praised, such is not the sentiment of the great body of the American people ; nor such the creed of her ablest champions and defenders. The satellites of France, through the medium of certain Jacobin vehicles of slander, have spread far and wide their calumnies against the constituted authorities ; charged our courts of justice with violating the laws of the land, and existing treaties ; denounced the men whom the citizens of America have seen leading their armies to victory in the cause of liberty ; or presiding at the head of our councils.

To refute these charges, and shew the falsehood of those calumnies and denunciations, is a bounden duty on every man who has time and talents equal to the task : the latter falls to the lot of Leonidas, and it is hoped he will never be weary in well-doing.

PHILO-LEONIDAS.

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#### FRENCH INFLUENCE. No. VII.

IT had been my original intention, to prove, in the present number, in cool and considerate language, That the conduct of the British government towards this country, in the diplomatic department, and the injuries and spoliation which were by them unwarrantably committed upon our trade, under colour of the hasty and imprudent orders of the king and council, were of a nature which admitted and justified

justified the conciliatory measures adopted by our executive. That those measures not only coincided with the wisest policy, but met the hearty approbation of the cool, dispassionate, uninfluenced yeomanry of our country. That the heat and *effervescence* which prevailed in the cities and maritime places upon this subject, were rather the effects of the influence and intrigues of French emigrants, missionaries and hirelings, than the spontaneous operation of injury upon the minds of the *real sufferers*. That the violent opposition to negotiation with Great Britain, to the person who was appointed to conduct it, (whose talents, integrity and patriotism set foreign influence at defiance,) the clamour against the treaty before it was ratified, or surreptitiously given to the public : against the merits of that treaty after it was officially approved and promulgated ; against the *appropriations* which were to give to it animation and vigour ; and finally, against those *real patriots*, who, despising the clamours of faction counterfeiting the public voice, virtuously dared to approbate and defend it. This opposition, I repeat, was produced, sustained and fostered, not from a sincere and enlightened regard to the true interests of America, but from the real or imaginary interest of France, as whose dupes and tools, and under whose livery, the agents in those transactions pitifully performed their parts.

But I feel myself compelled to delay the delineation of this humiliating picture, that I may contribute my mite, at this *early* moment, to check the operation of a dangerous attempt, to influence and overawe the deliberation of the constituted authorities. If I stand alone in the opinion, while I retain the feelings and principles of a free republican, I will enter my solitary protest against every attack upon the freedom of legislative, judicial and executive decisions. Under the Pittsburg head in a Philadelphia paper of May 13th, are detailed certain resolutions of a self-created, affiliated club, or convention ; in which they premise, in the crafty and captivating manner, common to these clubs in France and America, that the citizens have a *right* peaceably to assemble and give their opinions upon subjects interesting to their welfare. A proposition, which the dullest school boy is familiarized to, and which the most zealous friends of order in America, are ready to admit and defend. The policy of this proceeding is obvious, its effect much greater than it is usually imagined. By commencing with an axiom incontrovertible in its nature, they attach with weak men, a sort of inviolable authenticity to their unfounded and artful insinuations ; they discover a candour which is fascinating, and

too often fatally operative on honest but heedless minds. This is not the worst effect of such positions ; they call up the most dangerous feelings of the human heart. By starting on the holy ground of the imprescriptible and inherent rights of man, and by endeavouring to establish, and *labouring* to prove a truth which nobody denies, they excite the jealousy of their fellow-citizens ; who, observing their rights defended, are led to think they were attacked. However simple these ideas may appear to statesmen who have been habituated to the accurate contemplation of the human character, they are really important, and contain one of the great arcana of Jacobinic influence. These wise and patriotic citizens, assembled in the purlieu of whisky and rebellion, having thus proved that they had the *right*, though they leave us in great doubt as to their *qualifications* to act as privy counsellors to congress, proceed obliquely to censure the president for calling the legislature together at this interesting moment. They then advance as the bold champions of France, and in the most disgraceful manner, caution the government against any measures, which might irritate that mighty all-powerful republic. They basely insinuate that this ignominious peace is to be secured at the expense of our honour, our dignity, our feelings and our interest. Meanly relinquishing the *strong national* ground of conscious rectitude, and untarnished good faith which we have scrupulously preserved, they have treated the causes of difference with France, as though they had originated solely from American perfidy, and American aggression.

To sweeten this bitter pill, they conjure up the popular phantom of the similarity of our governments ; they represent the French as contending for the same principles, as engaged in the same cause, and embarked in the same bottom with ourselves ; that our destinies are intimately allied. Not content, that we should submit to fraternal and friendly rapacity without a murmur, but we must humble ourselves by comparing the humane and national principles of our free constitution, with the sanguinary, anarchical, chimerical system adopted by the Cromwells and puritans of France. To deter the legislature from pursuing a dignified line of conduct, worthy of a great and injured nation, they exhibit "*interrorem*," the hackneyed bugbear of the national debt. This monster, so formidable to the eye of discontented democracy, is intended to terrify us into a tame submission to the imperious dictates of the haughty tyrants of degraded Gaul. What, though to appease their insatiable avarice, we sacrifice the commercial capital, which they have kindly taken into keep-



keeping, and surrender to their friendly use, the remaining commerce of the United States, still we have the satisfactory consciousness of aiding the cause of liberty, and of promoting the welfare, security and happiness of a nation who are struggling for the same principles for which we have gloriously contended; and although they may rob us of that surplus wealth for which we have no immediate occasion, we have the pleasure to reflect that it does not gratify the lordly appetite of an overbearing aristocrat, but serves to refresh and regale the senses of a modest *sans-culotte*.

Such, my fellow citizens, are the principles which actuate our whisky patriots, and in this manner would they commit the honour, and sacrifice the interest of their country. It is no small advantage to the truth of the principles for which I have through six long numbers been contending, that these patriots should have furnished a sort of *episode* to place in a glaring view the deleterious effects of *French influence*; for I trust that no honest American can doubt for a moment under what authority and by whose instigation, the measures and resolves above alluded to, were adopted.

But thanks to heaven! the guardian angel of America, has preserved us from the baneful effects which might have followed from such principles. Our citizens are united, independent and firm; our representatives in congress feel our wrongs, and know how duly to estimate insults wantonly bestowed, and injuries unmerited and unprovoked; and we did not need the *sacred* pledge, which the president has nobly made in his speech to congress, to be assured of his firmness and independence. His name has long since been honourably enrolled in the temple of American freedom; and his patriotism, like the *live oak* of our forests, shall bear perpetual verdure, and like that too, he will stand, propped by Herculean sinews, unmoved by the boisterous gales of foreign influence, foreign intrigues, foreign threats and internal faction. I shall proceed with my design in my next.

LEONIDAS.

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#### FRENCH INFLUENCE. No. VIII.

**P**LEDGED as I acknowledge myself, in the most explicit manner to the public, to support to the utmost of my abilities, the principles which I have advanced, I would not meanly shrink from an obligation, which it would be my greatest pride to discharge. But, Sir, the dignified, shall I not call it,

it, the exalted conduct of the President of the United States, has so completely overwhelmed opposition, so effectually strangled foreign influence, and placed our national honour upon so elevated an eminence, that I should deserve pity for my vanity, if I conceived, that my exertions could contribute to strengthen, or to aid the efficient energy of our government.—Still perhaps I owe it to decorum, and to myself, to complete with some appearance of unity, the system which I have endeavoured to maintain. In support of my principles, it will be proper for me to shew, that the extravagant clamour, and violent vociferation against the British depredations, were excited, promoted, and encouraged to their actual violence by French intrigues.—As a proof of that proposition it will be pertinent to predicate, and establish, that those depredations did not solely proceed from hostile, or avengeful principles, but from cautionary, politic, and prudential considerations. At the winding up of the catastrophe, I shall state a few sentiments on the present *avowed*, as well as *secret* objects of France, and the necessary, unavoidable, and Heaven-directed measures, which America ought, and which, I trust, her faithful counsellors will undeviatingly pursue.—To exhibit the effects of French Influence, in all their variety, to trace, to follow its movements, through all their perplexing windings, intricate mazes, their Cretan labyrinths, would require a folio volume, would be an Herculean task—while to remedy half the evils which it has produced, if they admit a remedy, to restore the American character, which it has enervated, to its native energy, to its original purity and piety, would occupy an antediluvian age.—We cannot be too grateful to Heaven, that so large a portion of our citizens have escaped the dreadful contagion:—That many of our ablest Statesmen, “each in himself a host,” have remained uncontaminated, by this infectious disease. But will it be possible to reclaim those unfortunate citizens who have been plunged into the abyss of moral profligacy, and political vice, by the demoralizing, the decomposing principles of France? I would gladly draw a veil, and not expose to the envious eye of triumphant Europe, the infirmities of any of my fellow-citizens. Let it be their apology, that all the charms of eloquence, the deceptive subtlety of metaphysics, the dazzling splendour of victory, but above all the electricity of *false* liberty conducted by French apostles, have been employed to reconcile mankind to the greatest crimes which ever disgraced human nature, and with which, *true* liberty, and even society, are absolutely incompatible.

But turning away from this sombre picture so humiliating

to every true patriot, I will attempt to prove that the British system of depredations in 1794, was in a great measure produced by, and followed as an inevitable consequence of French influence, manifested by the seditious, inflammatory movements in the United States. The Jacobins of this country, have uniformly contended, that the commerce of America was not only, *necessary*, but absolutely *indispensable* to Great-Britain :—That by withholding our bread for a month, the British colonies would be famished into submission. That if we should refuse to receive their manufactures, and to stop remittances, the pulse of the British lion would instantaneously cease to beat. This single idea, was the sole basis, the solitary corner stone of Madison's *famous resolutions*. Without admitting the force of these ideas in the ridiculous and extravagant extent, to which the Jacobins carried them, we may fairly make use of their weapons to contend, that the interest of Great-Britain, as well as our own, strongly forbade a rupture. It is an undeniable truth that the wisest policy of that nation recommended a permanent peace with the United States.—Why then, in will be asked, did the cabinet of St. James's pursue measures towards this country which indicated so hostile a temper? The answer to every unbiassed and reflecting mind is apparent, and in a few years, all men not blinded by party zeal will agree in the truth of it. The British government had too much reason to expect, notwithstanding our neutral profession, and the sincere good faith of our administration, that we should take an active part in the war against them.—Facts speak a powerful language. Let us listen to their honest eloquence.—In Nov. 1792, regenerated France, discovered to all Europe, by public acts and decrees, her determination to disorganize that she might conquer the surrounding nations. The crusading spirit of the 12th and 13th centuries appeared to have revived, though the object of it was changed. The views of universal empire conceived by LEWIS XIV, were reassumed by the 500 *grand monarches* of the Convention.—Early in 1793, they formed connections with the malcontents of England, and declared war against that nation. As soon as this had taken place, aware, that the United States would be a powerful prop to their proselytizing principles, they resolved that we should be dragged into, and associated with them in the war.—To secure this interesting object, they sent the mild, the moderate, the modest missionary, GENET, to proffer to our government, “cheap promises” of every commercial advantage, if we would enter into the war. I call them “*cheap promises*” because a great handle has been made by our Jacobins



bins of these "fyren songs" of Genet, and because Mr. Pickering has very ably proved, that the most sincere and warm advances were made by our government to open the negotiation, but Genet and his successors, like the *ignis fatuus* of the evening, as often eluded our friendly embraces.—Perceiving that our government, as it most assuredly ought, preferred the solid, profitable blessings of peace, to the fallacious and gilded allurements held out by a predatory war, Mr. Genet was instructed in such an event, by every means in his power, by sowing civil dissensions, by fostering faction, by rendering the administration odious—by effecting a change in our representation by "appealing" from the constituted authorities to the people, by clamour, by venal presses, by fraud, by falsehood, by flattery, by contracts with *flour merchants*, by gold, or by *Jacobin Clubs*, to excite an admiration and an ardour for France, and a correspondent hatred and detestation for Great-Britain.—In a word, to plunge headlong and heedless, into the mad vortex, the desolating hostility, which afflicted, which ravaged, which conflagrated Europe. Nearly a million of dollars which he brought with him in cash, and the allurements of plunder, engaged the rapacious, as the prospect of power did the discontented ambitious, on his side; and from Savannah in Georgia, to Portland in Maine, our great towns at one period resembled rather additional departments to the "wonderful" Republic one and indivisible, than as the proud members of the more honourable community of the United States of America. Without giving credit to one thousandth part of what the French affirm of the successful application of gold by Pitt, to the amateurs of liberty at Paris, it cannot be questioned, that the English Ministry knew before Genet's departure from France, the secret objects of his embassy, and it is easy to conceive, that they possessed a copy of his private instructions. I am aware, that it will be said, that the *intentions* of France, could not justify the unjust outrages of Great-Britain, and that, if America gave no cause of offence, their conduct remains without apology. Far be it from my pen, to enlist itself in the defence of measures, which have drawn so much of the *vital principle* from my yet bleeding country. But with honest men, there is a solemn justice due to truth. I would willingly drop a curtain, before the follies, the imprudencies, the nudities of some of my fellow citizens, into which they have been betrayed in a state of intoxication, by French insinuations. It should be remembered, that our government is the most popular in the world, and it was natural for the British administration, then struggling with a Jacobinic

party in its own bosom, to expect, that, if our citizens suffered themselves to be wooed into fondness by Genet, the government must follow the spirit of the people. Nothing short of experience could have established the contrary conclusion, and it must be acknowledged with humility, that in the latter part of 1793, the faction of France appeared to triumph in some of the middle States, and did actually triumph in the southern and western. A knowledge of these facts which they certainly possessed before the orders of the 4th of November, aggravated by the information that swarms of privateers were equipping in defiance of our laws and government, and that citizen Barney, and other Gallico-American patriots, were engaged to defend French property by force, under the perfidious protection of a neutral flag, were indications of imminent hostility. It would be an insult to the American understanding, to labour the proof, that a man has a right to disarm another who is meditating an attack upon him—that he is not obliged, "*Jure divino aut humano,*" to be quiet, until the blows of his opponent render him incapable of resistance—that the law of nations solemnly recognizes this principle. If therefore Great Britain conceived (and we have seen that she had great reason to conceive) that we should league with France against her, it would have been madness to have waited till by sequestrations and confiscations we had secured a full indemnity for the expences of the war from the wealth of her own subjects. The sincerity and good faith, which she has since manifested by the adjustment on liberal principles of all past injuries, by the honourable fulfilment of all her stipulations, and by the cordiality she endeavours to cherish, afford evidence the most unequivocal of her motives, and establish upon undeniable grounds the truth of my propositions. I debit therefore the French and American Jacobins with the whole loss by British spoliations. As to the causes of complaint which France has made a *feint* to hold up, as apologies for her cruel, unfeeling depredation on our defenceless commerce, with my narrow scope of thought, in defence of our national conduct, I would encounter a Solomon in reasoning, a Demosthenes in eloquence. France herself does not esteem her complaints of any weight. Conscious that objects assume a deceptive magnitude in a fog; that the clouds which they have conjured up, would flit away before the blaze of investigation, they have artfully declined an open examination. They have put an end to an argument which they could not answer. They have silenced a minister whom they could not convince. It is then only for fools, or the hirelings of France to contend, that

that the *real* causes of her vexations, are to be sought for in the conduct of America. What then are the *secret* springs, which influence her to acts so ungrateful, to conduct so depraved? It has been answered by able statesmen, whose privilege it is to dive into those depths of policy, beyond the ordinary level of mankind, that the real motives of her conduct are, first, *the want of property*. Reduced by one of the most ruinous, expensive, impoverishing wars ever waged by a civilized nation, drained to the very dregs by the hungry harpies who prey upon her vitals: palsied by a paper money system as wicked as it has been destructive; her manufactures extinct; her commerce annihilated; her navigation sunk "*below the waters edge*"—she is now seeking a temporary relief by swindling those who enter her ports to relieve her from famine, and by plundering all who dare not confide in her generosity or justice. Her *second* motive owes its origin to the Munro's, the Skipwiths, and other wretched calumniators of their country, entrusted with its honour and its dignity in France, who have buoyed up the Executive Directory with the false hope of dividing, governing and thus forcing our nation into the war. This *genus* of patriots, (they cannot be classified with any other beings) have been not unaptly compared to the Tories of our last revolution. Like them they have tickled the ears of their European masters with the imbecility of our government, and the dissatisfaction and discontent of our citizens. A prospect of aiding their objects of division and conquest has led the five Kings to distress, that they may more easily destroy the government of our country. The last and far the most interesting object of France is to distress the trade, annoy the commerce and cut off the resources of Great-Britain. She knows full well, that a lucrative commerce forms the chief sinew of her most formidable foe. To cut off this sinew, will be to destroy the only arm capable of defending the ancient Colossus of human laws, and human liberty, and of vindicating the violated rights of suffering humanity. Here then I think, the losses and injuries we have sustained from France are *another* fair charge to the account of Jacobinism. If such are the real motives of France, and it cannot be doubted, it is much to be feared that nothing short of a surrender of independence; a submission to *voluntary exactions*; Holland benefactions and a tame, asinine temper; an ignominious patience under oppression, would save us from *friendly* ravages; even this degradation would not guarantee *peace*. We should still be compelled to take part in this crusading war, and thus plunge into the very distress we had basely stooped to avoid.

These



These are not *my* ideas; it would be worse than Gallic plunder, to claim the merit of them. They originated with wiser heads, with abler patriots. If by clothing them in a new dress, I shall have contributed to make one profelyte to patriotism, to raise the thermometer of national pride, but one degree, I shall be amply rewarded.

The eyes of America are at last opened! The cataract is extracted. The film is taken off by the surgical operation of France. Let us be firm, united, and we must be free. Let us manifest a sincere ardour for peace, but let us be *amply prepared* for war.

In the *august* language of the President, "Let us convince France and the world that we are not a *degraded* people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear," but that our destinies are fixed on high and elevated foundations.

LEONIDAS.

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## FRENCH INFLUENCE STILL TRIUMPHANT.

No. IX.

**I**N my last number upon this fertile topic, I took my leave of the public, from a strong conviction, that every reasonable man must have been fully satisfied of the dangerous extent, the alarming effects of *French Influence*. It is also certain, that the little snarlings of "Marcus," and other Chronicle scribblers, and even the pompous threats of the pitiful French Consul at Charleston, South Carolina, would never have provoked me to a single line of reply. But a recent event in our national affairs, interesting as well as humiliating to our country, an event which on the first impression, appeared to threaten the peace, and commit the neutrality of America, calls forth the attention and requires the exertions of every honest man to probe *this wound* of our national honour, to the bottom.

William Blount, a senator of the United States for the state of Tennessee, has been detected in an attempt to involve the United States in all the horrid consequences of an Indian as well as a Spanish war. The warm friends of our national reputation have charged this attempt to *French Influence*. The Jacobins *glory* in their country's disgrace, because they think it affords a proof of one of their *standard lies* the existence of British influence. More moderate men reject *either conclusion*, and place it to the individual guilt, the *for-*  
did

did avarice, and wicked ambition of William Blount. I shall endeavour to prove, that the first is probable, the last is certain, if the first is untrue, and that the second "*the base of Jacobinism*," is *absolutely impossible*. To begin with the second—The Aurora, and Chronicle, appear upon this occasion to have out-done their former *out-doings*—Mr. Beckley and Mr. Dallas, in Philadelphia, and Honestus, &c. in Boston, must have made the ultimate exertion of their talents in producing their comments upon this subject. Subtlety and gall are however the leading features of their remarks. The obscurity and ambiguity of their expressions are the evidence of the first, and Mr. Russell and Mr. Fenno, (if they did not despise them) would feel the effects of the last. Wretched and contemptible indeed must be the feelings of those men, wholly devoid of that patriotism of which they make so much parade, who can exhibit such marks of heightened pleasure at a discovery so disgraceful to their country.

But so favourable an opportunity of recriminating the charge of *Foreign Influence*, of producing a match for the defection of Randolph was not to be omitted.

Let us examine their statement of it. In order to accomplish their object, they assume the proposition, that the *culprit* only is to be believed, that the British Minister is to be presumed to be the *real* culprit who bribed this man, and therefore his declarations ought not to be credited.

Without attempting to prove that this mode of argument is too weak to gull the most credulous democrat, I am willing to place the issue upon Blount's letter alone. Let any man read that letter with candour, and then say whether there is not conclusive evidence that the British minister actually discouraged the treasonable advances. The proposition was made during the winter session; and yet in the last week of April, he could not tell whether the thing would take effect or not, but a "man of consequence" had gone to England upon the business. If Mr. Liston had really encouraged the measure, why send the "man of consequence" to England? Was not the minister himself perfectly competent to make the representation, was he not the most suitable person to recommend the measure? But from Blount's letter, it is obvious, that the British invasion was but a secondary object.

That might, or might not take effect. But the gaining the Indians to his *own* interest, so that he might use them as he pleased; to render them disgusted with the officers of the United States, was the leading motive.

Power, *personal* ambition was the main spring of Mr. Blount;

Blount ; indifferent he was, like other patriots, about the means. This instance confirms my former observations, that selfish ambition was the ruling passion of all Jacobins from Thomas Jefferson down to the most contemptible scribbler in the Chronicle.

If then nothing in Mr. Blount's letter disproves or contradicts Mr. Liston's declaration, it is a rule of law as well as of common sense, that evidence liable to suspicion may be admitted to confirm or corroborate that which is credible in its nature. Mr. Liston solemnly declares that both he and his Court discountenanced Blount's infamous, parricidal, inhuman proposal.

Mr. Blount does not contradict this idea, but there are facts before the public, infinitely stronger than the simple assertion of Mr. Liston or the naked declaration of the culprit Blount.

Facts cannot deceive us, the language of nature is unerring. If Mr. Liston had encouraged the hostile proposition of Blount, should we not have heard of some preparation in Canada, or in England ? But the British are still as the grave. Would not Mr. Blount have appeared to be intimate with Mr. Liston, and would he not have avoided the Spanish minister, against whose nation he was meditating an infamous, and insidious attack ? But we do not hear of any degree of familiarity with the British minister even from the *pimping* Bache ; but it is a fact that Blount was in the habit of frequent and *secret* communication with the Spanish minister.

If Mr. Liston was really guilty of exciting Mr. Blount to this infamous measure, was it natural that he should have acted so open and ingenuous a part ? The assertion of Mr. Blount could never have proved his culpability ; and he might have shrouded himself in evasive answers, or in silence.

But no, we find him open and candid ; acknowledging the proposal, and giving very satisfactory reasons for his secrecy.

If he had *really* encouraged Mr. Blount, would he put it in the power of so unprincipled a man, to convict him of falsehood, by declaring that he discouraged the plan ? Finally, it is notorious that Blount was a Jacobin, in the interest of France. The Chronicle may deny or equivocate ; they may charge the Centinel with falsehoods for calling him one of the " virtuous minority." Mr. Russell did *not* say that he voted against the British treaty.

But it is as true as holy writ, that he is in the *minority*, in the



the opposition to the government, in *that opposition* which the *Aurora* and *Chronicle* support, and commend. It is true that he represents the State of Tennessee, a State forced into the Union by Jacobinic influence : it is true, that Collot was sent by Adet to fraternize that State, and induce them to set up a *separate* government. It is true, that Collot or some other person persuaded them to vote for Mr. Jefferson who was the head of the French party in this country. It is true that Gallatin and Nicholas, *two Jacobins*, endeavoured to screen Mr. Blount from impeachment, and that Peirce Butler and his brother Tom Blount, two *other* patriots, were his bail upon this charge.

All this is undeniable—Mr. Liston, situated in Philadelphia, must have been acquainted with his character. Would he have trusted so rank an enemy of his country ; was it not natural that he should as he says he did, distrust him, and suspect that there was some poisonous snake lurking in the grass? What this *Snake* really was, the *true* motives of Mr. Blount, I will at some future moment attempt to disclose, and satisfy the public, that the French and not the British were at the bottom of this Catilineal conspiracy.

LEONIDAS.

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## FRENCH INFLUENCE STILL TRIUMPHANT.

No. X.

WHEN I had *last* the honour to address the public through the medium of your paper, I did not intend to have made any further remarks upon the conspiracy of Blount until time, and the guardian angel of America, had fully developed the dark arcanum of this disgraceful transaction.

The cause of federalism ever hath been and I trust ever will be supported not merely by the naked influence of truth, but by the force of *enlightened* conviction. It has been the distinguished characteristic of its defenders, that documents not to be doubted, proofs the most positive, have been always adduced to support their assertions.

On the other hand, it has been uniformly the pernicious policy of its busy, and virulent opposers, to shroud themselves in impenetrable mysteries. Conscious that investigation would defeat their baleful projects, they have veiled themselves in blind inuendos, and dark insinuations.

On the *first* appearance of a discovery, which would throw a merited odium upon their party or their principles, or up-  
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on the first adoption of a measure, which will probably diminish their influence, or defeat their projects, they instantly raise a hue and cry to drown the voice of honest patriotism, or conjure up a misty cloud to screen from the public eye their *truest* interests.

Like thieves pursued, they zealously join the general clamour, that their guilt may escape detection. By pompous professions of their own purity, and by an *over zealous* crimination of their opposers, the Jacobins always aim at exciting the *passions* of the *people*, before their understandings have opportunity to examine into the truth. They know that public clamour is like a torrent, which in its destructive course, sweeps away every vestige of human wisdom or exertion. By exciting it therefore they hope to overwhelm the monument of law, order and public authority. Thus in the case of the treaty with Great Britain, no arts, no intrigues, no falsehoods were omitted, to excite the prejudices and inflame the passions of the people. They ushered it into public with falsehood, by publishing a mutilated abstract. They divulged it with perfidy, by prostituting the honour of an American senator. They distributed it with the rapidity of the telegraph, and promoted instant discussions of it in illegal assemblies, that they might produce premature censure; proud ambition leagued with stupid folly. Hoary age combined with unprincipled youth to disgrace, to disorganize, to destroy the energies of their country. Vain *plebeians* and decrepid *governors* alike agreed in the condemnation of this unfortunate treaty; and alike discovered that this wonderful act of administration was "*pregnant*" with ruin to their country.

But on a *cool* discussion of its merits, it was found to contain none of those hideous qualities which had been artfully, hastily, and industriously ascribed to it.

So also on the *first* rumour of the scandalous and disgraceful defection of Randolph, the Jacobin presses, and Jacobin spouters, teemed with eulogies on his merit, as a patriot and republican, and charged his opponents with the most cruel calumny for daring to suggest his guilt. Even on the appearance of Fauchet's bungling "*exculpatory*" certificate, and the still more miserable apology of the secretary himself, they endeavoured to predispose the public opinion in their favour; seize on all the avenues to the public understanding, and introduce the "*forlorn hope*" of his innocence and integrity.

Unfortunately in this instance as well as the other, the public undertook to read and judge for themselves, and Edmund

mund Randolph was suffered without a struggle to sink into the infamy which he merited.

In the case of Wm. Blount, the Jacobins are attempting to act the same farce; they are zealously endeavouring to call up the passions and prejudices of the people against their old enemies the British. French influence is now zealously co-operating with party spleen, in throwing the whole odium of this dishonourable transaction upon the British minister or his nation. They know full well, that the post once seized by a bold coup de main, may be easily defended. It would have been the wish of every honest American, to have possessed *all the facts* before an opinion was formed. But if the *enemy* will attack us without an open declaration of war, we must defend with the best weapons we can command.

To every *real* friend to his country, if treason or perfidy must exist in our nation, it is very immaterial whether it be occasioned by British or French intrigues. But as the French party (to favour the views of their masters) have contrived to connect the *administration* of our government with British politics, and to insinuate the absurd idea, that that nation has an ascendancy in our cabinet, and as the *old rivetted* prejudices of the nation favour these suggestions, it is the duty of every good citizen, to oppose and obstruct so dangerous a principle. Let us then my fellow-citizens, coolly ask ourselves, whether there exists a shadow of evidence; whether there has been exhibited a *minimum* of probability, that the British minister or his nation co-operated or even countenanced the measure? *Prejudice* apart: if the emperor of Russia had a minister here, and he had been charged in the same way, and the same appearances had existed, should we have entertained the smallest suspicion of his guilt?

Candid men will answer, No. Some arguments weighty in my mind were before suggested by me on this subject. No material facts have since occurred, but on a more careful and liberal examination, I am confirmed in my *first* opinion. Another conspirator has since been detected, embarked in the same plot, engaged in the same scheme. Is this man a partizan of the British? Is he intimate with the British minister? Is he a federalist? No. A reviler of the British nation; a rooted enemy to the administration of his country; a democrat in his principles, and it is said, an active member of a *deceased* Jacobin club. But above all, an admirer of the French nation, an advocate for French principles, a defender of French insults. It is *singular* that the British minister should have made choice of *two such tools*.

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But how could the British minister or nation, in any way encourage this plot? Nations commonly consult their interests either real or imaginary.

The British by *sea* as the letter suggests, could afford *no* aid in such a project. Their ships could *never* be navigated to the destined scene of operation. By land they could afford no assistance however feeble. Drained to the *last man*, by this exterminating and desolating war, their western troops having nearly all reposed their bones in the sultry climate of St. Domingo. Canada, poisoned by French principles, can hardly be retained in subjection. Whence then should they procure their levies? The idea is absurd, the project impracticable. Could Blount with *all his influence*, collect men in despite of our neutrality, in defiance of severe laws?

The French in the summit of their glory, while Genet was domineering over the southern states, and scattering his *louis d'ors* with boundless profusion made a miserable figure at an attempt of this sort; witness the *pitiful* expedition under General Clarke; and yet that country was then boiling over with French principles, and they acted more like *mad sans-culottes*, than like the sober citizens of a *free* country.

The British *minister and nation* were not unapprized of these facts. Could they then entertain a feeble hope of essential aid from a country, inflamed in favour of their most inveterate foes, and bitterly prejudiced against the British nation? The idea is too absurd to be indulged. For what purpose should the British conquer this country? To surrender it disgracefully the next year? For retain it they could not, and from their policy I believe they would not if they could. The whole mystery will be satisfactorily explained by supposing the French to be at the bottom of this conspiracy, which I shall attempt to prove hereafter.

LEONIDAS.

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## FRENCH INFLUENCE DEMONSTRATED.

No. XI.

HAVING proved to the satisfaction of every impartial and unbiassed reader, that, whatever might have been the *real* object of *Patriot* BLOUNT, the British government could possibly derive no advantage from his nefarious scheme, and of course, upon the ordinary principles of human nature, that they could not have favoured the plan, I shall endeavour, as I have engaged, to prove, that our GOOD AL-

LIES

LIES the French are really at the bottom of this singular conspiracy. Before I enter upon what I deem an irresistible phalanx of evidence, let us advert for a moment to the illiberal abuse, which has, upon this occasion, been heaped upon the secretary of state. Mr. PICKERING is well known to have been one of the firmest, most honest, and consistent American republicans in the United States. The purity of his character has been so exemplary, and his patriotism and virtue have been so inflexible, that the tongue of malice has not ventured until of late, to utter one slander against his reputation. If his character has ever suffered, it was by the immoderate applauses bestowed on him by the *Aurora* and *Chronicle* scribblers, two years since, when he expressed in an Indian conference, his resentment at British interference, his republicanism and consistency were the "chorus" of every French or Jacobinic "ditty." He was in their eyes, a man of talents, of *real* discernment, of *unspotted* virtue, of *genuine* republicanism. But as soon as he dares to open his eyes to French abuses, to Gallic insults; he is at once deprived of all his abilities, stripped of all his virtue, corrupted by British gold, and is the hardy advocate of aristocracy. These are *plain* facts, and Leonidas has the *Chronicles* before him which are the records of this "mutable" consistency. But how has he been culpable in the affair of Blount? In what measure has he betrayed the interests of his country? The only charge that I recollect to have seen is, that he communicated the information to the British minister, and thus enabled him to secrete testimony and elude detection. This is a vague declaration and will not bear the test of scrutiny. In the *first* place as the representative of the sovereignty of a nation in amity with us, he was entitled to this respect. It would have been unjust, indecorous and contrary to the ordinary maxims of equity, to have presumed his guilt upon a simple assertion of an individual, in a paper not under the solemnities of law, and which might have proved a forgery. Even the *senate* and *house*, refused to take measures against the writer himself, until the hand-writing had been proved by witnesses under *oath*. If the government had adopted any measures to the disgrace of the British minister, without demanding an explanation in the first instance, it would have been a national insult, and might have proved the pretext for a rupture between the countries. But I demand in what mode this matter could have been conducted with more security or with greater advantage? The British minister was protected by his office. His person and his papers were not liable to search upon a charge of this kind. No  
evidence

evidence therefore could have been drawn from this source. If it had been in the first instance communicated to the senate and house of representatives, the culprit himself in *one* branch, and his "genteel" brother in the other, would have had instant information of the charge. But in *my* opinion, strong evidence of the judicious conduct of Mr. Pickering, and of the innocence of Mr. Liston, results from the facts in this part of the proceedings.

Although Mr. Liston had notice of this discovery several days before it was communicated to the senate, yet Mr. Blount had no knowledge of the charge, does not abscond, secretes no papers; but as soon as it is made known to the senate, he immediately absconds, and either destroys, or secretes every document which would serve as a clue to the dark transaction. Let not the Jacobins pretend that he had notice of the discovery, but chose to meet his fate, for these same hirelings of France have deeply criminated the senate for requiring too small security, and have alledged that he has *actually* absconded. These circumstances are in my opinion a full refutation of the infamous calumnies fabricated to injure the secretary of state, and I have no doubt, that he will, ere long, add to these reasons, a still stronger one, "that he knew, at this *very time*, that this plot had originated in an opposite quarter, and was the result of "republican" and not of "monarchical intrigue."

In the proof, that this was really a French *plot* we must not expect *direct and positive* testimony.

The very idea of a *plot* implies *secrecy*, and we must look for that sort of evidence which can usually be obtained to establish *secret* things.

If it has been made apparent, that Great Britain could not prosecute this plan with advantage; let us see whether Spain or France lie under the same disability? As to Spain, I have no reason to doubt, that uninfluenced, and unterrified, she would most ardently seek to maintain harmony and peace with the United States. From the peace of 1783, until the treaty with her in 1794, sensible that we should eventually possess the unlimited navigation of the Mississippi, she was desirous to cede that right in *express* terms, upon certain qualifications as to the *period* of possession. When she found our government unwilling to accept it under *any* limitations, and when Mr. Jay's treaty had cut off the hope of aid from Great Britain, she very readily agreed to the unconditional surrender, and executed the treaty with Mr. Pinckney. No reasons can possibly exist to alter the policy of that court, and if Spain was not now in *leading strings*, we should never have been



been mortified at the defection of an American senator, and the posts upon the Mississippi would have been *honourably* given up.

No man in his senses can believe, that the only remaining branch of the "royal" family of Bourbon, can be very sincere in fraternizing with those *sans-culottes* who profess eternal enmity to kings, nor doubt whether the ridiculous manifestos of the Chevalier Yrujo, are really his unbiassed sentiments, or dictated by the *diplomacy of France* ! In short, no man, who knows the anxiety of the Spaniards for the safety of their colonies, can believe that they can relish the introduction of French troops into the heart of their country, nor hazard the event of a conflict with their neighbours, the United States.

But a man in *dureſſe* is not accountable for his conduct, and a conquered nation must implicitly obey the will of the conqueror. Henceforth, let us not talk of Spanish aggression, Spanish insult, or Spanish perfidy ; but let us call things by their right names, and place to the account of the French republic, the conduct of Spain.

That France conceives, that the *possession of that* country west of the United States, of Canada, and perhaps of a *slice of that fertile part* of our territory so romantically described by travellers, would be really a *valuable* acquisition to her, there can remain no doubt. Entertaining this opinion, therefore, it is unnecessary to inquire whether it would *really* advance her grandeur or promote her interest. Nations who *have power*, do not always consult their *best* interests, but they always gratify their passions, and their desires, whether the means be just or unjust. France always had under a *monarchy*, and under a *modest* republic it does not appear to have abated, an ardent passion for glory and conquest. The pride of the grand monarch and of the *mighty* republic, appears to be the same, although the names are in some measure changed.

She has conquered Europe, England excepted, and she feels a strong desire to regain her *lost territory* in this western world. Early in this war, she conceived the design of possessing Louisiana and Canada. The expedition under General Clark, in direct violation of our neutrality, is *one flagrant* proof of it, and the correspondence between Mr. Jefferson and Governor Shelby of Kentucky, deposited in the archives of our nation, is *another* evidence of this design. France then had Austria, Spain and England to encounter. She was divided and torn to pieces by internal factions. Is it likely that she has abated in her ambition, now she has humbled Austria, subjugated Spain, and nearly annihilated Great Britain ? Besides,

sides, is it not really important to France to gain a territory in America, to operate as a counterpoise to the colonies of Great Britain? If she can really command a fertile country in that western wilderness, will it not be an useful and important check to her *old rival* Great Britain, and will it not favour her *darling* plan of acquiring an ascendancy in the councils of the United States? In fine, would not such a colony be extremely useful in furnishing an excellent *dormitory* for 500,000 citizen soldiers, who would most certainly disturb the peace, if they did not destroy the government of this country?

Can it then be doubted that it would be as much for the interest of France, as it would be injurious to Great Britain, to favour such a project? Without any pretensions to any uncommon foresight, I have long anticipated such an attempt, and if the public will have patience to read *one more* tedious essay, I will shew that they have not only entertained the idea, but that they have in every way, with indefatigable industry, with inflexible perseverance, with insidious policy, prosecuted, and had well nigh *ripened* the design.

LEONIDAS.

## FRENCH INFLUENCE DEMONSTRATED.

### No. XII.

HAVING proved demonstratively, that the project brought to light by Blount's letter, could never have been undertaken with any prospect of advantage by Great-Britain, and that every alluring motive of pride, ambition, policy and advantage, prompted France to the adoption of such a measure, we are now ripe for the inquiry, whether there have been any *overt* acts of either of those belligerent parties to corroborate, or to weaken the inferences, which our opinion of their respective interests has led us to form. On the part of Great-Britain we are confirmed in our sentiments by the general tenor of her conduct the last year. Torpid and benumbed from extreme exertion, she has been seeking by a general pacification, a relief from that distress and embarrassment produced by a war sanguinary and calamitous beyond example. Content therefore to act upon the defensive system, we have heard of no new enterprizes, of no bold offensive operations. France, with pacific propositions in her lips, has flashed direful hostility from her countenance. Italy, Venice, Sweden, Denmark and America,

rica, have had no *peculiar* reasons to admire the *meek* and *moderate* motives of her present administration. Judging then from the general tenor of their late conduct, impartial men would not hesitate to decide, which of them was most likely to attempt new and important conquests. But I have pledged myself to shew, that France has positively pursued with vigilance, with energy, with industry, with insidious policy, this scheme so interesting, so novel, so alarming to the United States. In scanning the measures of a nation so celebrated in diplomatic intrigue, we must not expect the *precise* documents, the secret instructions, which governed the conduct of their agents in a plot, against an innocent, *affectionate* and unoffending ally. But to men versed in the human heart, and acquainted with the nature and the force of human testimony, more weight will be given to separate independent facts, existing in different places, *apparently* proceeding from independent causes, but *really* tending to the same *grand point*, than to any positive testimony from characters the most respectable. Let us then recur to the plain and irresistible evidence of *facts*. Ira Allen of Vermont, a Jacobin (or which is synonymous) a friend to France, not being a *commercial* man, but a plain farmer of the *green* mountains in the neighbourhood of Canada, embarked last year for France. There the officers of the French government procure for him 20,000 stand of small arms. They are invoiced it is said at *one quarter* of their value. Bound to New-Orleans, or some Southern port, this enterprising "Farmer" is captured and carried into England.—From thence he writes to his friends in Vermont to *procure* evidence that they were intended for, and ordered for *that* state. The Vermontese, alas, good honest federalists, unconscious of the plot, let out the *fact*. They wanted no arms, they were well supplied, and they scorned to co-operate in a base evasion. The question naturally occurs, for whom were these arms really destined? Not for the Americans it is ascertained. For the British? No. Col. Allen's prejudices are too deeply rooted and too generally known, to subject him to *that* imputation. Judge you, my fellow-citizens, whether they were not intended for the reduction of Canada, and in favour of the nation who *supplied* them.

2dly. Two men, named M'Lean, about the same time were *avowedly* and *confessedly* sent by Mr. Adet to fraternize with the Canadian peasantry. In other words to propagate the *holy* creed of Liberty, Equality, Murder, Rapine, Infidelity, Fraternity, Unity and Indivisibility, in which I think consists the whole *essence* of French government. One  
of



of these men was unfortunately discovered, and fell a martyr to the glorious cause. A Mr. Butterfield one of his companions, preferring ignominious life to elevated and *eternal* sleep, betrays the whole plan, and avows that it was a system to excite the Canadians to insurrection and rebellion. Is it uncharitable to suppose that *Allen's arms* were connected with this plot, when the *existence* of this plot is now incontrovertibly proved?

3d. During the last year, the French minister deputed a cunning agent, a Mr. Collot, to the western country. Two motives were then ascribed to that secret embassy. 1st. To promote the election of that eminent friend to France, and author of the letter to Mazzei, Mr. Jefferson. And 2d, to persuade those western states, particularly Blount's, to establish a separate government on the *western* waters, and to assure them of the aid and support of France, who would soon have the possession of Louisiana. These motives I say were ascribed to him and *justly*, the evidence is abundant though for obvious reasons still kept *private*—Let the public take notice that all this took place, and these motives and plans were discovered long before the detection of Blount, and before it could ever be known that the establishment of these facts would corroborate our *present suspicions*.

4th. Nothing had taken place last winter between the Spaniards and America to alter their dispositions towards us since the making of Mr. Pinckney's treaty. That treaty I have said was made sincerely, heartily and readily on the part of Spain. The Spaniards pride themselves on their honour and good faith :

Yet Gov. Gayoso, before any notice could possibly have been given to him of Blount's plot, before that plot ever had an existence even in embryo, had determined not to deliver up the *posts*, and had even recruited, strengthened and *increased* the fortifications at St. Louis. Let the hottest advocate for French integrity explain this transaction—It could not be the apprehension of an attack from Canada—Blount never formed the idea until the last winter session as *he* says. Yrujo did not know it till the 26th February last, and yet Gov. Gayoso, in February, at 1500 miles distance, makes new fortifications, and early in March refuses to deliver the posts. What a surprizing, what a wonderful coincidence of separate and independent evidence? A sun beam we may sometimes resist, but this proof is too clear to be evaded.

5th. At the same moment when the *drama* is opening in America, when the rapidity of incidents is indicating the approach of the catastrophe, a gentleman of information, integrity,

grity, and talents in a letter from Holland, dated April 3d, without the knowledge of any of these facts which were unfolding here, with a *prophetic* spirit which has never yet deceived us, foretels the execution of a scheme like the one we have been considering. More like the faithful history of *past* transactions than the loose predictions of prophecy, he points out with singular and surprizing exactitude, the progress, nature and objects of a plot, which accident has now prematurely developed. In *express* terms he declares it to be the intention of France to create a new Republic on our western frontiers and to accomplish this object, partly by transporting French troops, and partly by American citizens.

He adds that it is also her intention to divide the United States, that she may rule the whole.

Those who have curiosity may see this interesting letter in the Massachusetts Mercury, of July 28th, or in the Centinel some time before.

With this stupendous colossus of evidence, standing on the solid base of truth, deriving its support from the North as well as the South, from Europe as well as America, from a concurrence of separate disconnected facts, all proving some deep conspiracy of France, can any man not blinded by French influence, not biassed by party spirit, nor depressed and debased by foreign gold, hesitate to declare, that our modest allies were meditating a serious attack on that western country, that Blouet was one of their active agents in the scheme, and that the application to the British minister was simply to afford a pretext which they have in fact made to withhold the Spanish posts, and justify an armament and perhaps a direct attack on the United States.

If any doubt after this, let him advert to the Spanish and French captures in the Mediterranean, unexampled and without pretext; in violation of *good faith* and of every principle hitherto *held sacred* by nations even in actual hostility. Let him advert also to the dismissal of Mr. Pinckney without the colour or even the shadow of excuse—a measure hitherto deemed an infallible prognostic of imminent and immediate rupture.

If any man *still* doubts I shall either attribute it to the weakness of his head, the obstinacy of his heart, or rank him with those deluding and deluded men, who, I have long since proved, have been, are, and I fear ever will be under the direct influence of France.

LEONIDAS.

## A P P E N D I X

MANY honest and well meaning citizens anxious only for present relief, and regardless of the future consequences of existing measures, may possibly conceive, that the republication of these essays and the propagation of the sentiments contained in them is impolitic at the present crisis of our affairs.—Believing in the ridiculous creed of the partizans of French politics, that France as a monarchy was *sincerely* disposed to promote our independence, to maintain our rights against Great Britain, and to increase our prosperity and strength; and that as a republic allied in sentiment she must be still more hearty in her wishes to advance our interest, and “to draw closer the bonds of amity which *unite the two* republics.” Such deluded men would naturally think that the ideas suggested by Leonidas, at a moment of reconciliation, ought to be suppressed.

But to rational and considerate men, reflections of an opposite nature inevitably present themselves.

They consider mankind in the same points of view, and actuated by the same feelings, motives and passions as the impartial page of history has represented them for ages past.—They explode the absurd opinion that the discoveries of the modern philosophers of France have essentially ameliorated the nature of civil society, or hastened the arrival of the political millenium. They entertain on the contrary a well founded sentiment, created and confirmed by the awful example of France, that the principles adopted in the course of her late revolution are unfriendly to the general welfare of mankind, are dangerous to the peace, and hostile to the prosperity of the other nations of the world. That, instead of checking that desire of conquest, and annihilating that proud ambition which has so often been the scourge of nations and the regret of philosophy; those revolutionary principles have fostered, encouraged and energized the grasping spirit of universal dominion.

The *friendship of nations*, has been the ridicule of enlightened men in all ages.—Interest, either real or imaginary, always has, (and unless the age of miracles returns) always will form the only spring of national conduct. Power, rather than justice, has with statesmen been the *sole* consideration of policy, and the want of it, the only restraint from injustice.

If we review the conduct of France towards this country, we shall find no reason to abridge the latitude of those general remarks. In vain did the artful partizans of France predict a favourable operation upon our connection from the pretended similarity of our principles and views; in vain did many honest but mistaken men, adopt and cherish the same errors, and place



place a strong reliance on the generosity and magnanimity, as well as friendship of our *sister republic*, we have seen her defeat their unwise predictions, by pursuing with the harsh hand of power what she esteemed her *own* interest, at the expense of the peace and the prosperity of *other* nations, and in direct violation of her *most solemn* stipulations with her *most faithful* allies. It would surpass the bounds I have prescribed to myself to enter into a detail in proof of these assertions, and it *ought* to be unnecessary, as I hope every American has read that able examination of our intercourse with France contained in Mr. Pickering's communication to Mr. Pinckney, and that clear, comprehensive, and unanswerable review of our existing controversy with that nation by Robert G. Harper, Esq.—that they have been generally read, and that they have always produced conviction in this country, I think is apparent from the change of sentiment which has taken place within the last few months. That they are unanswerable, I think is equally apparent, from the effects they have had upon the minds of those who were upon the eve of being our *declared foes*. But let us not plunge again into the same abyss from which we have with so much danger and difficulty emerged; let us not again indulge the absurd idea, that France, convinced of her errors, will materially alter her policy, and instead of pursuing her interesting views of selfish aggrandizement, will forget her own objects, in the interest of a dear and faithful ally. Those who hope for *more* moderation and *less restless* ambition in republics than in any other form of government, are unacquainted with the history of the world. They are also ignorant of the nature of man, in whose constitution are necessarily interwoven those passions and propensities, which have so often set the world in flames. Will a government which affords the least check to the violence of these feelings be most naturally moderate peaceable and quiet? Passing by therefore, the *extreme* danger, that France, in the convulsions, (which all rational men foresee) as consequent upon external peace, may be again immersed in a despotism more frightful than that from which she has escaped, we ought to hope nothing from the moderation, the virtue, the generosity, the friendship, the magnanimity of her, as a republic.—We have seen, that however torn by internal factions, each ruling party has unrelentingly and with malicious perseverance pursued the same stupendous project of universal empire.—A peace which may soon take place, cannot be expected to change the character of a nation, every citizen of which has been taught systematically to believe that he is *invincible*, and that he is an important member of the most *powerful* nation in the world.

Her marine almost annihilated, her navigation actually extinct, and her colonies in a wild and unproductive state of confusion and anarchy, France expects by pacification to recruit her strength, that she may renew the conflict with more energy, and with better hopes of success in her *grand* object. Her ingenious statesmen are not unmindful of the past progress, and the  
growing

growing importance of the United States of America. They are not unaware, that a similarity of language and manners necessarily begets stronger ties between nations, than any adventitious or politic national stipulations. They are therefore convinced, that as soon as time shall have blunted that just sense of injury, which existed in every American bosom, at the recollection of past indignities and wrongs, we shall naturally return to a familiar and intimate intercourse with Great Britain.

Great Britain is the only nation in Europe which is the object of the dread or the envy of France. In a war the most splendid which ever occurred to gratify the vanity of Frenchmen, they are unable to record one decisive advantage gained over the territory or the fleets of that powerful island.

On the contrary, they have experienced the mortification of surrendering the empire of the sea, at the same moment that their journals were announcing the conquest of the European continent. If we believe Segur and Talleyrand, the French nation know that America, depending for her importance on her immense and increasing commerce, must naturally look up for protection to that nation which has the most complete command of the ocean. If these things are fairly stated, if such be the policy, if such is the ambition, if such are the passions and characteristics of the French nation, where is the honest American, who is so blind as not to see, or who is so hardy as to deny, that it is the *interest* and must therefore be the policy of France, by exciting animosity, to detach us as much as possible from Great Britain, and by art, intrigue and G—ld, to win us over to her *own* interest and views. In the commencement of our connection with France, no man can believe that the despotic cabinet of VERSAILLES could relish the revolutionary principles of America. Yet we know that the most ardent friendship was proposed, and every fascinating measure was adopted to blind the understandings of our citizens. The same bland system of flattery and folly was pursued undeviatingly, till the unfortunate blunders of Genet threatened the total subversion of their influence.

Then instigated, partly by resentment at the ill success of their project of drawing us into the war, and partly by the wicked counsels of certain parricide Americans resident in France, they instituted a system of coercion and terror—of coercion the most unprovoked, of plunder the most cruel and rapacious. If that system is now *about* to be abandoned, and the *pitiful* authors of it *sacrificed* to the interest of the nation, we may be assured, that it is to be attributed to the firm, resolute conduct of our administration, and the spirit of the American people, rather than to any essential alteration in the feelings or principles of France.—Let us then beware of her “Syren” songs of friendship, and let us place our reliance on our own wisdom, strength and fortitude, under the direction of a just DEITY, rather than to the “*magnanimity*” or goodness of any foreign nation whatsoever.

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# THE PSEUDO PATRIOT.

## No. I.

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**I**T has for many years appeared to me desirable, that some writer, qualified to exhibit character with a glowing and correct pencil, should have furnished us with a history of that mock, delusive, arrogant patriotism which has palmed itself upon the world as a genuine virtue: I had flattered myself, that talents adapted to so interesting an object would have engaged and have been successfully employed in it.

In details it is true that many able and virtuous writers have contributed to strip the vizir from the face of hypocrisy. Individual guilt, or the infamy of detached and particular measures, have been often and ably exposed.

But such is the constitution of mankind, that this scattered light makes but a feeble impression.

Even the melancholy disasters of life pass away as a meteor: They alarm us for the moment, but we shrink back to our native apathy: it is only then by connected, and well arranged systems, that we carry conviction to the mind. The American people may be characterized as manly, generous and candid:—If they have a weak side, it is an overweening jealousy of their rights and liberties. This however is a failing so much in the vicinage of a virtue, that philosophy will not record it to their discredit. From these traits in their character, one half all their internal disquietudes has proceeded. The artful and the ambitious have successively availed themselves of these qualities, to erect upon them their selfish and narrow scheme. By professing an ardent regard for liberty they have excited the sympathy of the whole nation. By predicting the encroachments of power, they have alarmed and interested the fears of the people.

Ingenious



Ingenious writers have at the moment demonstrated the falsity and futility of these suggestions, and pointed out the corrupt and vicious motives of those who originated them. But the candour and generosity of the people have universally led them either to disbelieve their guilt, or to forgive and forget its effects. Liberty, like truth, can never ultimately prevail unless it is thoroughly understood. So long as Tyrant demagogues can clothe themselves in the attire of Freedom ; so long as falsehood can maintain the semblance of truth, so long will the World be deceived by fallacious freedom : and hollow insincerity be mistaken for integrity.

It shall be my task, then, in feeble language to trace the progress of false patriotism, from its cradle to its present state of virility.

Although my immediate object is confined to the information of my own Countrymen, and to exhibit the defects of American Pseudo Patriots yet as it may serve to elucidate and establish my remarks, I shall occasionally resort to the history of other countries, to the demagogues of ancient times. Patriots, both real, and pretended, in all modern ages have resorted for example and precedent to the Roman and Grecian republics. Those celebrated nations have served as texts, upon which many ingenious, as well as false theories, many rational, as well as absurd commentaries, have been founded.

From their history useful hints may be drawn upon the subject I am now considering, and I shall not neglect the application of them.

The weak side of republican governments was nearly as well understood 2000 years ago, as it is at the present day. The ambitious, the discontented, and the restless found an easy and simple resort for the gratification of their passions, by assuming the *appearance of zeal for the interest of the people.*

The people, unfortunately for freedom, were then and still are too often the dupes of these shallow and ridiculous pretences. The honest Cato had less influence than the artful Cæsar, and Sylla, Marius, and Catiline had more admirers than Brutus. If I was to confine myself to abstract remarks, to dry reasoning, my observations would be read by few, and relished by none. In order, then to interest attention, and excite the feelings, I shall treat the subject with the frankness of a republican. I shall discuss the characters of those who have crowded themselves into the drama of politics with the freedom and spirit of true criticism. When I discover any excrescences on the political body, I shall boldly

boldly use the knife and the cautery, rather than apply emollient cataplasms to the disease.

The names and the public conduct of any heroes will be ingenuously handled, but I shall cautiously avoid entering the hallowed recesses of private character or domestic life.

Those who volunteer themselves in the public service cannot complain, if they provoke fair but plain criticism, and it would ill become those vaunting patriots, who are the objects of my attention, to censure a conduct they have so loudly advocated.

I shall not, however, imitate their example by prostituting my pen to the purposes of the vilest calumny—the most illiberal slander.

I shall begin with those patriots of 1775 who are still extant, and who hold up their early merit as a shield, a Medusa's head, to cover and to defend their present apostacy.

Those of them who perished in their errors, I will suffer to slumber with their Fathers.

I shall proceed in the detail in my next.

ASCANIUS.

## THE PSEUDO PATRIOT. No. II.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS,

**N**OT having any popular views to gratify, not being a pensioner on the public favour, I shall not flatter your vanity, (as modern patriots do) by placing you above the constituted authorities; although I hold the right of the people *unalienable*, to choose their own forms of government, and to elect their own officers, yet I am a decided advocate for respect to those, whom the people have invested with authority. For this reason, and for this only, I think it proper to begin the elucidation of my system of false patriotism by an examination of the merits of *Patriot* Jefferson. As vice-president of the United States he is entitled to my respect and support, and as such he shall have it. As candidate for that office at the next election, or even perhaps for the office of first magistrate, and as an “undegenerated” patriot, he is fairly, and he might be offended if I did not consider him, the object of animadversion. I am the more inclined to begin with him, not only as he is held up by the whole horde of boasting patriots from New Hampshire to Georgia, as the head of that order of men, but because, in a certain extraordinary letter which is now pretty well fixed upon him, he

he censures all the constituted authorities, and expressly ranks himself among the *exclusive* patriots—the chosen few. In this astonishing letter (which providence by means most inscrutable, has dragged out of that profound secrecy and obscurity for which the author designed it) he depicts in the beautiful language peculiar to him, his deranged and disordered view of the United States. I call it disordered, because it certainly is false, and it was more charitable to attribute it to insanity of conception than to design. He charges the illustrious and independent hero of his country;—that man whose name is more precious than rubies;—the whole judiciary of the United States;—the virtuous, the elevated Ellsworth;—the candid and honest Cushing;—all the District judges throughout the Union, many of whose heads have been silvered over with the cares of public life and their country's good;—all the senate of the United States;—all the public officers;—the industrious, indefatigable, manly Wolcott;—the spirited M'Henry;—the firm Pickering, “the first of patriots in the worst of times:”—all these men the patriot Jefferson charges with apostacy from true liberty, with having sold their country and bartered its honour for British gold; nay, he charges the same degeneracy to an indefinite description of private citizens.

Is it then uncharitable to examine the merits, and measure the qualifications of this man, who enlists himself as the willing censor of all whom we have admired—All of whom we have boasted—All of whom we have venerated in the United States? It cannot be illiberal to inquire, if he, who strips WASHINGTON of those laurels which a grateful country has wreathed around his brow, possesses stronger claims to them, than the modest hero, whose head he has profaned. Indeed it should seem remarkable that all the characters whom he has thus aspersed, who have been till now in the full possession of the public confidence; whose labours for our country have appeared to be unceasing; who started from the goal of tyranny at the same moment with Mr. Jefferson, should all of them basely have deserted the cause of liberty, and have left him, a *solitary* example of virtue, to sustain the whole weight of his country's cause, attacked and overwhelmed by British gold and increasing aristocracy: but so it seems Mr. Jefferson will have it. Let us then coolly resort to facts, and see whether these gentlemen have deserted Mr. Jefferson; or whether he has deserted them. Mr. Jefferson was a citizen of Virginia prior to the late war.

His education must have been classical, and his genius exuberant. He is undoubtedly a scholar, and the world has called



called him a philosopher. It is not necessary to my cause, and I do not feel disposed to deny him *that* honour. Condorcet, Marat, Brissot, Priestley, and I presume Montieur Mazzei were also philosophers. Honest men do not think them the better patriots on that account. If it will gratify Mr. Jefferson or his friends, I will admit that Washington, J. Adams, Hamilton and Ames are no philosophers.

Mr. Jefferson from his talents early sought and obtained popularity. As a member of the first congress he was distinguished, and as the reputed framer of the Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights I honour and respect him: but it should be remembered, that Galloway and Deane were in the same congress; Cromwell was an early patriot; so too was Maximilian Robespierre. Even Cæsar himself once refused the civic crown.

Jefferson was governor of Virginia in trying times. In this situation he has been charged with want of firmness. The charge has attached itself to him, and has not been disproved or denied. Mr. Jefferson became an historian, and unhappily for his patriotism, he has been too open in his political creed in that work. This exclusive patriot is an advocate for slavery. He denies that Blacks are a part of the human race, or at least contends that they are an inferior order, doomed to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to the patriots of Virginia. He has committed many other unfortunate blunders in that work. The curious may see them ably exposed in a piece under the signature of Phocion. Mr. Jefferson was minister to France; here, I presume, he contracted that ardent, that meretricious affection for France which has swallowed up his *first* love—*his love of his country*. We shall see, with what temper he returned, in our next number.

ASCANIUS.

### THE PSEUDO PATRIOT. No. III.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

**M**R. JEFFERSON, the head and the leader of the pseudo patriotic party in this country, on his return from France, retired to his elegant and philosophic retreat at Montecelli. There, remote from the noise and bustle of the active world, it was naturally to be expected, that he would have been equally removed from those jarring and discordant passions, those restless and intriguing schemes, which charac-

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terize,

terize, while they disgrace, the factions of a free country.—Happy would it have been for the nation, and still more important to his future fame, if he had availed himself of this dignified ease, to cultivate assiduously that elegant taste for science and the Belles Lettres for which his talents had peculiarly qualified him.

But the virtue of Cincinnatus formed no part of Mr. Jefferson's character. He did not wait for the spontaneous voice of his country, demanding his services, but he solicited, he angled, he intrigued for the fascinating sound. He was called into public life, he was drawn out of the shades of Montecelli, by a *man*, whom *he* and *his partizans* have since vilified and calumniated. Like the viper in the fable, he has bitten the hand which fostered and cherished him.—

WASHINGTON! It has been thy peculiar fate to have been the object of the basest ingratitude! but thou hast erected a monument in the breasts of honest patriots, more durable than the fallacious fleeting glory of thy most eminent calumniators! Mr. Jefferson came into the administration, under omens the most favourable, under auspices the most flattering. With the reputation of an accomplished scholar, and the still more solid character of an able statesman, the most sanguine hopes were entertained of his success in the department of state. The public anticipations as to his talents were not deceptive. He fully justified the most extravagant hopes, and vindicated our national honour with reputation to himself and advantage to his country.

It is a glorious privilege of liberal minds to do ample justice to their antipodes in sentiment, and it gives me pleasure to add, that it is much to be doubted whether the diplomatic annals of any country can furnish more striking examples of elegant diction, acute penetration, and energetic reasoning than were exhibited by Mr. Jefferson. Shall we be compelled to shade this fair picture by an humiliating appeal to *facts*? Must we show that the *head* which was capable of elevating his country's fame, was allied to a *heart* disposed to debase it? Powerful reasons ought certainly to exist to justify such a measure, and proofs the most flagrant must be produced to compel the belief of it. It will not be doubted by all honest Americans, that Mr. Jefferson was surrounded in administration, by men of talents the most splendid, and of probity the most unquestionable. If he differed from them in sentiment, it was indisputably his duty to have endeavoured to convince them, and if he failed of success, to have retired from a situation, in which his *name* would be held

held up to sanction measures, which his conscience disapproved.

But it is a fact, damning to the character of Mr. Jefferson, and which can be proved by all his contemporaries in office, that he had a "*language* confidential, as well as a *language* official. That these *languages* were at direct variance. That his *public memorials*, though ably penned by the secretary himself, were in fact a bitter pill forced upon him by patriots at least as enlightened and quite as virtuous. That he basely submitted to this mortifying state of subjection, in direct hostility with his own feelings for not less than two years, and finally shrunk from his office, (as he had before done from the government of Virginia) not from a reluctance at his humiliation, but from the terror of a crisis, which was ready to burst upon his country. I am aware, that the little scribblers of Jacobinism, will carp at these observations, and doubt the authenticity of my statement. They will call for my proofs, and exultingly require the same degree of evidence which would be expected in a court of law on a prosecution for high treason. But it should be remembered that few characters, and those the most dignified, are the only witnesses to the fact. No process lies to compel their appearance, and it cannot be expected they will volunteer themselves before the tribunal of the public. After the treatment which Mr. Jay and Mr. King experienced for disclosing the treason of G  net, much spontaneous testimony cannot be expected. Some independent facts, however, are well known by every man, and therefore Mr. Jefferson will not dare to deny them, any sooner than the letter to Monsieur Mazzei. It is a *fact*, that P. Freneau was sent for to be interpreter of foreign languages to Mr. Jefferson when no such office was known by law. It is a *fact* that he printed a newspaper. It is a *fact* that Freneau's paper was devoted to France, and hostile to this country and the government, which *are* and ever *will be one*. It is a *fact*, that Mr. Jefferson knew all this, and that the measures of administration were always vilified by Freneau, and yet he kept him in his service, and in *public* pay, without authority of law. It is a *fact*, that Mr. Jefferson publicly advised Mr. Brown, or some other printer to print the "*Rights of Man*," written by the infamous Tom Paine, and that he then declared in a billet published with the work, that he thought we were degenerated, and that it was time to rally again around the standard of Common Sense ; in other words, to create another revolution. But I must leave the winding up, and the polishing off his character, to another number. He is  
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the great *leviathan* of Jacobinism. Let us survey him coolly, that we may guard against his talents.

ASCANIUS.

#### THE PSEUDO PATRIOT. No. IV.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

**W**HEN, in common life, we see a man's principles in direct variance with his conduct, when we hear him advocate measures which he does not pursue, and pursue steps which he daily reprobates, we are free to declare, that he lacks common honesty, or common sense.

By what strange fatality is it then, that conduct which is so despicable in private life, should not only be tolerated, but often liberally rewarded in public character?

It is a fact, which the most hardy Jacobin in the United States will not have the audacity to deny, that all the "exclusive Patriots" of this country, from Shays to Bradford, from Galloway to Gallatin, have spouted forth volcanic streams of liberty and equality, while they have cherished tyranny in their hearts, and have exhibited aristocracy in their conduct. But should the proposition in the abstract be denied, let us prove it in detail, let us exemplify it in Patriot Jefferson. This great Statesman was one of our *earliest patriots*, and like many others of that description conceives that his *early* services can never be *duly* rewarded.

In vain have the people lavished upon him every honor, but the highest in their power to give, the debt of gratitude to him remains still unpaid, nay undiminished; we have not even discharged the *interest* of it. He affects in his language and writings to believe in the supremacy and sovereignty of the people, and yet he arraigns their judgment, he disputes their authority, he insults their officers.

It is a *fact known to thousands*, that Mr. Jefferson in his admiration of every thing that was French, openly contended that the Senate of the United States was an useless and a dangerous branch of the legislature; that it ought to be annihilated. In this sentiment he echoed Brissot and his fellow philosophers of France. Many people will also recollect that our Boston Patriots, equally faithful to *their* leader, echoed Mr. Jefferson on this subject. Now indeed it would be treason against our French friends, to contend for this principle, and forsooth, we hear no more about *one* branch, the "Checks and balances" of our admired President, have ceased to be the object of "Chronicle" ridicule,

Here we have seen that Mr. Jefferson arraigned the *judgment* of the people.

Mr. Jefferson is said to have written, and he certainly signed the Declaration of Independence, in which it is declared, "as free and independent States, we have the right and the power to levy war, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which Independent States may do," and to this he pledged his "life, his fortune, and his sacred honor."

Yet we have seen that Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to Mazzei, in his private conversation, and through his partizans, has contended that our treaty with Great Britain was a violation of our *duty* to France, that we ought to have consulted their feelings and their interest, and not have acted as Free and Independent States, but as the humble followers of France. I should have had the more charity for him on this particular subject, if his writings as Secretary of State had not been the basis of all my ideas on the subject of neutral rights, if he had not demonstrated with the irresistible eloquence of truth, that we had not only fulfilled all our legal obligations to France with scrupulous punctuality but had raised a large credit in the ledger of Friendship and Generosity.

In condemning the British Treaty then solemnly ratified and deliberately approved by the people and their constituted authorities, Mr. Jefferson has *disputed* the authority of the people.

Our elections are frequent, fair, and in most instances uninfluenced, unless they have lately been impaired by French Gold, or by the clubs and pistols of the Virginia, or *brickbats* of the New-York patriots. The persons elected may then fairly be supposed to have represented the feelings, and to be entitled to the respect and support of the people. In proportion to the extent of country, the danger of foreign influence and domestic intrigue is greatly diminished. The President unquestionably, from this cause and from the checks in the choice of him, is by far the fairest, and the most complete representative of the People of the United States. Deplorable and Corrupt, indeed! Degraded and miserably contemptible must be the honour, the pride, and the character of the American people, when this *first* officer of their government is elected not by their free suffrages; but by the force of foreign gold. Possessing the only legitimate authority, the confidence of a free and enlightened people, standing in the most august of all situations, at the head of a virtuous and independent nation, language is not rich enough to furnish a name of obloquy

obloquy too strong to brand an humiliated President, who could barter his own, or his country's honour, for the sordid gratifications of avarice, or the vulgar splendour of unlimited power.

Yet my Fellow Citizens ! will you believe, that Mr. Jefferson, an early patriot, just retired from a public office under our government, with all the respect attached to his official situation still hovering about him, with the consciousness of the falsehood of his assertions stinging him to the quick, has dared to charge the President of the United States, the immortal Washington, with being a traitor to his country—with being the wretched advocate of unlimited power—with having sold his honour, and that *fair fame*, which he had dearly earned, for that *gold*, that paltry bauble, which had been *vainly* employed for the same purpose while it was uncertain whether he would be branded as a Rebel or rewarded as a Patriot.

To whom does Mr. Jefferson unfold this tale of slander ? Does he spread it among the patriots who assemble at Montecelli, or does he whisper it to the Constitutional Clubs, convened to perform their midnight orgies ? No, *even* they are too well informed to be deceived by such ridiculous suggestions. Does he openly declare it in the Senate, or boldly propagate his creed in the primary assemblies of the American people ? No, he knows full well, that in such collections of *honest* men, many could confute, and all would resent the base insult on the national character. Rather, my fellow citizens, let it be recorded, that *one* American citizen, and we hope but *one*, not content with fabricating suggestions so derogatory to the honour of our nation, is desirous to humiliate his country in the estimation of foreigners.

To the breast of the *virtuous* Mazzei is this mighty secret unfolded. In confidence it is by him related to the victorious Buonaparte, who, faithful to his masters, transmits it in its naked colours to the magnanimous Directory.

A narration from so high authority as patriot Jefferson could not be discredited, and on this letter may we safely place all their hopes of dividing and ruling the American people.

But the *illustrious* author of such discoveries the Directory could not permit to go unrewarded.

To make him Viceroy of the Colony of the United States, was the smallest requital they could make ; and faithful to its promises, the generous Republic, by agents, terror, and intrigue, attempted to remunerate his services. The unexpected *obstinacy* of the American people, however, disappointed



pointed his hopes of the *first* magistracy ; but he must be contented with the *second* place, till "*the republic*" shall have accomplished her ascendancy over the American character.

Will any man then doubt, that I have proved my third assertion that Mr. Jefferson has insulted the officers of our government ?

I could however forgive Mr. Jefferson almost every thing he has done against the American people, were it not for his duplicity in affecting to be pleased with Mr. Adams's well deserved elevation. When it is so well known, that their principles and practice have been perpetually opposed to each other, and when, if any man in the Union is unjustly, severely and pointedly implicated in the letter to Mazzei, it is the present President of the United States. From the above full, fair, candid appeal to facts, is it uncharitable to enroll Mr. Jefferson, as the first of Pseudo-Patriots ? His friend Edmund Randolph claims the next situation.

ASCANIUS.

#### THE PSEUDO PATRIOT. No. V.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

**L**IBERTY is a goddess, who has been the fancied object of adoration in almost every age. She has been courted by the great, and wooed by the poorer nations of the Earth. Sparta—Athens—Rome—Germany—Sweden—England—and lately France, have successively thought themselves her votaries and favourites. But as they grasped the pleasing form, they perceived the sad delusion. They found that they were embracing a cloud—that they had been pursuing an *Ignis Fatuus*. Other nations may laugh at our vanity, but it is as true as holy writ, that the Republics of St. Marino and America furnish the only examples of *true Liberty* for the contemplation of philosophy. It has often been repeated, but it is not the less true on that account, that the very settlement of this country originated from the inspiration of *Freedom* ; and I need not add, that it is a plant adapted to our soil, and which has been well watered and cultivated since it took root among us. How ridiculous !—how contemptible !—how vile are those croakings of the "exclusive patriots," in which they insinuate that liberty is endangered from a prevalence of aristocratic or monarchical principles. It is a libel on our national character. It is a treasonable reflection on the American people. My *honest* fellow-citizens (and in that number I embrace seven-eighths of the northern

northern, and two-thirds of the citizens of the southern states) survey our past history, more especially since the establishment of a National Government, which has the semblance and *only* the *appearance* of some energy, and then honestly declare, whether we are not more endangered by factious discontent, than by artful or forcible assumptions of power. Faction, hostility to order and regular authority, is the sin that easily besets us. Truth and good government; virtue and wholesome laws; honest patriots and able servants of the public; have *required support*: with all the aid afforded them by men of talents and acknowledged virtue, they have tottered, and in some instances been deserted by the confidence of the people. While boasting vice, vaunting disorganizers, stalking faction, have stood *without support*, have gathered crowds of admirers, and have even *audaciously* disputed the palm of merit with genuine patriotism.

To these reflections I have been unwillingly led by the contemplation of the character and conduct of "Edmund Randolph," late Secretary of State for the American Republic. Does he not, my fellow-citizens, furnish evidence the most conclusive of the propositions which I have last advanced? Is not his history a commentary upon that text, too luminous to be resisted? Let us examine and determine with moderation. I cannot say of this man, as I said of Mr. Jefferson, that his *talents* or his *works* excite admiration or command respect. They both appear to me to have disgraced the diplomatic records of America. With a *feeble* understanding, an uncouth, pedantic, and confused style, he would have dishonoured the national character, had he confined himself to the narrowest limits of his duty. But unfortunately for our national reputation, these qualifications were combined with a proud spirit, and an overweening vanity, which so crowded his public productions, that had he rivalled a Chesterfield or a Chatham in talents, his memorials would have been held in contempt as the voluminous productions of vanity.

So far for his talents. His *political* principles ought next to be considered. If I could write in all the colors of the Rainbow. If I could sketch the changes of Proteus, or trace on paper the variations of the Camelion, I might attempt, but I could not succeed in exhibiting the wavering, inconsistent, absurd conduct of this man. A Federalist to-day, an Antifederalist to-morrow. This hour, a Jacobin, the next a high-toned Aristocrat. Now a Frenchman in his politics, then abusing them like a pick-pocket, he exhibited in his Po-

litical

litical Character the greatest contradictions, the most absurd paradoxes.

Courted by no party—Attached to no system—Feared by Federalists—without the confidence of Jacobins—He was esteemed by none and despised by all. As to his *moral* character it is beyond the limits of my plan to descend into the little meannesses of private life.

But so far as immorality has affected the public interest, it is our duty to strip it of its borrowed plumage, and exhibit it in its naked deformity to the indignant eyes of an injured people.

Mr. Randolph is a public defaulter. *Our* money—The property of us, "*the People*," (whom he pretended to adore) he has either secreted, or expended for the gratification of a luxurious appetite, or a courtly vanity. Not content simply with applying the public Money to his wants, or to support a ridiculous splendour, but he withdrew it from the stipends of other public servants, who had as many wants and more honesty. Our foreign Ambassadors, I particularize Mr. Adams at the Hague, were deprived of their regular, and very necessary support.

The American Character was exposed to disgrace by the impoverished situation of our Foreign Representatives. Was it a *private* Citizen who was guilty of this peculation? Was it an ordinary or vulgar fraud which would have condemned the actor to the Pillory? No, my Fellow Citizens, it was your *Secretary* of State entrusted with the care of your honour, your dignity, your interest with Foreign Nations. This, however, was not the *apex*, it was far short of the *achme* of Mr. Randolph's criminal elevation. Mr. Fauchet's letter, written with a diamond on the memory of every honest American, never to be effaced or obliterated, is the original record of his perfidy. Come forward Arnold, and surrender your *disgraceful* laurels to your *superior* in infamy. But I forbear to harrow up the feelings of my Fellow Citizens, to disturb the ashes of American honour, by a recurrence to this mortifying history. It was necessary to my subject to refer to it, to convince my readers in what manner we have been abused and deceived. I draw from this black detail this *one conclusion*, in illustration of the principles I have advanced, that the Americans are more exposed to the artifices of villains under the mask of Liberty and Patriotism, than to the silent or open encroachments of unlimited power.

If any doubt, let him be told, that this man, instead of being offered up as the just victim at the shrine of National Pride, was suffered to pass along undisturbed and despised, and to



write a laboured essay in *plenary proof* of his own infamy and of his base ingratitude to the first of Patriots—Washington, his *Patron* and his *Friend*. If any *still* doubt, let him be *shewn* (for he will not else *believe* it) that Bache, Greenleaf, Adams and Larkin, Four *patriotic* Printers, have not only palliated this man's conduct; but have applauded him and ranked him with the patriots of 1775.

Let it be so, let every Jacobinic Club, from *Maine* to *Georgia*, procure a striking likeness of this *worthy* member. Let them devote to him the most honourable Niche in their Temple of Liberty and Equality. On his right hand they may place Arnold, on his left Galloway. If they choose to honour him with the society of Robespierre and Marat we will not quarrel with them.

But they cannot deprive us of the pleasure of despising the man and his principles, and of enrolling "Edmund Randolph," as the second of the Pseudo Patriots—More of them in my next.

ASCANIUS.

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#### THE PSEUDO PATRIOT. No. VI.

THAT "the post of honor is a *private* station," is an adage peculiarly applicable to the characters, whose merits I am considering. To be distinguished as a *Pseudo Patriot* is to be eminently disgraced. Yet so strangely perverse are these men, that they pant for distinction in infamy with as much ardour, as honest patriots do for honor and solid fame. It is a delicate and difficult task then, to drag forth the victims to appease the resentment of an injured and insulted public.

Rest assured, ye vaunting demagogues, that I feel no partialities; that I am conscious of none but *universal* antipathies; that with the pencil of truth, I shall endeavour to render comparative justice to your demerits, and to assign with fairness your respective stations in the scale of degradation. If it were merely a comparison of talents, I should not hesitate to decide the *nice* question of rank between citizen Munroe, and citizen Madison, Giles, Gallatin, Austin or any other citizens who have rendered themselves *famous* for their *purity*, *patriotism* and *popularity*. I take it to be conceded by Munroe's warmest admirers, that his *patriotism* is at least equal to his understanding, and that his zeal takes the *lead* of his ability. Still, however, there are facts in his

his history, which make him soar far above the vulgar level of ordinary Jacobinism. The "Wonderful" Republic has conferred upon him a rank, she has dignified him with a title, which a course of *virtuous* actions could never have merited, and of which *impartial* history will never deprive him.

Yes, James Munroe! Though thy talents promised thee obscurity—Though thy native insignificance and pompous vanity, had afforded a secure asylum from every thing but contempt, yet thou shalt live in the records of diplomatic disgrace; thou shalt be as immortal as thy country's honor.

I should now proceed according to my usual plan, in plain narration, to sketch the political biography of this extraordinary patriot; but as he has of late been so accustomed to public addresses, and as the laudable example of Mr. Jefferson and Judge McKean may be considered as worthy of imitation, I shall address him personally with all the respect I feel for his character consistent with republican frankness.

"Citizen JAMES MUNROE,

"Late ambassador to the mighty, magnanimous, merciful,

"and *modest* Republic of *France*."

"You were, Sir, if I rightly remember, born and educated in that *favourite* spot of Freedom and Jacobinism, in which the shades of Liberty and Slavery are as nicely interwoven as the colours of its inhabitants. From this propitious circumstance, you had uncommon means of realizing and relishing the  *blessings* of True Liberty, by observing the  *curses* of Slavery, and by *exercising* the severe powers of unlimited despotism. To this cause, I presume, we may attribute that *burning* zeal, which has distinguished the character of yourself and the *Virginia* delegation, and which has kept Congress in a perpetual irritation. Accustomed to observe the painful effects of the shackles and manacles of slavery, it is natural that you should view with horror, the ordinary ligatures of society. The same hatred of restraint and love of Liberty unqualified, has no doubt occasioned your antipathy to the Federal Government, and rendered the *compulsory* means of enforcing the payment of *bonds* so peculiarly obnoxious to you. Hence also arose your sudden and violent admiration of the happy freedom and equality of the modern French, so nearly approaching that unshackled state of nature which your negroes formerly enjoyed and which they, no doubt, have feelingly described to you. I was, Citizen, most naturally led to these reflections, as I am now tracing the history of false patriotism; and it is worthy of remark that the three first whom I have been

been able to select as at the head of that order of men, are all of them Citizens of the "Ancient dominion."

Having thoroughly established the reputation of an *ardent* friend to France, you unfortunately were appointed by the late President to reside near that nation, not in the quality of an humble mercenary minion of the intriguing Directory, but as the dignified Representative of the American people. That spirit of conciliation, which peculiarized the administration of the immortal Washington, while it made the *Man* the object of admiration and love, proved seriously injurious to the United States. In no instance, Citizen Munroe, have your fellow citizens felt and lamented this pardonable error of the late President in more strong and bitter terms than in the example of your appointment. Humiliated and mortified at the comparison of your talents with those of your able predecessor Morris, they could barely have tolerated your nomination if you had conducted with all the prudence of a wiser head, and the dignity worthy of the station. But what must be their sensations, what can you fancy are the bounds they could set to their resentment, when they found you basely deserting the interest of your country, and courting the smiles, basking in the favour of the proud Directory: You were sent to France, Sir, to guard the interests of your nation, to protect its *honour*, to watch and to protest against any movements hostile to the good of your Country or injurious to its Citizens. But it is a fact which you cannot deny, because it can be proved by hundreds who have been crimsoned at your conduct, that you prostituted the character, you deserted the interest, you even countenanced measures hostile to the good of your country. It is notorious that your table was the resort of Jacobins, it was filled with enemies to the administration under whom you acted.

At that same *festive* board, supported at the *expence* of the United States (unless you admit you were in foreign pay) you openly ridiculed and censured, in the presence of Americans and Frenchmen, the Constitution and Government of the Country which gave you bread. You approved, and justified the conduct of France towards America. Her unjust decrees, her cruel spoliations met your decided approbation, while the conduct of your own Government towards France, you severely reprobated. You aimed, and you affected in the sentiments of the Directory, a decided distinction not only between the Government and People of your Country but between your *private opinions* and principles and those of our administration. Shrinking from this picture of infamy, and astonished at your own visage, reflected in the mirror of truth,



truth, you may possibly seek a refuge from public vengeance, in a denial of the fact. But recollect that we are in possession of your official communications, that we can call many witnesses to prove your impolitic declarations, that we have read Mr. Barras's final address couched in silly expressions, in which he parts with you with such regret, and at the same time that he *execrates* your constituents, he admires and approbates your *personal* conduct; accursed be the feelings, and lost must be the honour of that man, who can welcome the devourers of his fellow citizens, who can receive with smiles and caresses the applauses of a nation which is ready to burst with hostile vengeance upon his country. The irritation which I feel upon this subject induces me, Citizen, to close this address—Wishing you therefore the reward due to your services, I am &c. &c.

Having thus closed my respectful address to the *ci-devant* ambassador, I think no honest man will doubt, that he deserves an elevated place in my biography of patriotism. But, as if mercenary motives were necessarily attached to American Jacobinism, I feel myself bound to state, that the Citizen Ambassador went to France poor and embarrassed. His allowance from Government was merely competent to a decent support. Yet Citizen Munroe by the *favours* and *friendship* of our good allies was enabled to purchase the *lordly* mansion and estate of a *ci-devant* nobleman in the environs of Paris, valued at a moderate estimate at £.30,000 sterling. *Oh tempora ! Oh mores !* Randolph, Munroe, and Blount, our modern Republicans, pant for solid pleasures. They boast not of Spartan virtue, and untarnished honour. The charms of their patriotism lie hidden within the protection of a strong box. Another Pseudo Patriot in my next.

ASCANIUS.

#### INTERESTING TO AMERICANS.

*Extract of a letter from Holland, April 3, 1797.*

“BUT there appears to prevail at present a design very pernicious, as it strikes directly at our national union. From the present conduct of the directory, it cannot be questioned, that they are determined upon a war with the government of the United States. There are also numerous proofs that in the prosecution of this war, they are preparing to derive support from a part of the American people. The policy upon which they proceed, appears to be this; that the Atlantic, or at least the eastern states, cannot be governed

governed by the influence of France, and therefore, that a southern republic must be formed, in alliance with France, to serve as a balance against the others; but in order to form this republic, France must make war against the present government of the United States, in the progress of which she can send an army to support and assist her allies the new republic, and hereby they will effect two purposes at once; that of weakening by division a rising power which they behold with suspicion and jealousy; and that of disencumbering themselves from a considerable portion of the army, the return of which into France they already dread. They wish to form a republic in America, they are now forming a republic in Italy, to provide for the subsistence of their troops, or at least to be themselves rid of them—and thus you will observe that they step towards war with America, regularly as they step towards peace with the house of Austria; they are constantly in expectation of this peace, and it will probably be made in the course of this spring or the following summer.

“ In one of my letters I wrote that they had no idea of sending an army to America, and I formed my opinion from the state of their marine, and the impossibility they are under of restoring it for a long time. But various circumstances now lead me to a different opinion; and with respect to the marine, they are preparing to turn all their exertions towards it, as may be collected clearly from the pamphlet of Theremin, which I sent you a few days ago. You will find in the newspapers which I send you at this time, that Thomas Paine has left Paris, and is going to America; another of the French papers says he is going with Mr. Munroe “ to repair the mischief done by the administration of Washington.”

“ The plan of the Western republic, in alliance of France, to oppose against the rising republic of the United States, must have been formed as early as the time of Genet’s instructions; how much earlier it was formed, it is perhaps not necessary to conjecture: that Paine was in the secret, originally, seems probable; that he is now going to America to promote the design, I firmly believe. I see in some late American papers, that he wrote to Bache last summer, the necessity which the French government found themselves under to *distinguish between the American government and the people*; his pamphlet against the late President, I have not seen, but am told, it is another edition of Adet’s appeal to the people. What his conduct will be, is easily foreseen. The French government calculate, that in the war they intend, the eastern states will

side

side with the government ; but that our western country, and perhaps the southern states, will side with them ; Paine therefore, is going "*pour semer ces étincelles d'embrasement.*" for which madame Roland judged him so proper. Paine, indeed, is pursuing his vocation : he has no country, no affections that constitute the pillars of patriotism, but going with Mr. Munroe ! Where can the imagination stop in reflecting upon these things ; can Munroe ? Can ?—I have done, I remember the late President's advice, not to admit hastily, suspicions against the designs of citizens in distant parts of the union ; and I will yet hope, that a formal purpose to sever the union into parts, by the help of a French war against the whole, is at least not extensively extended or known, and that it will never meet with encouragement or support from men who ought to consider union as the principle paramount to all others in the policy of every American."

#### THE PSEUDO PATRIOT. No. VII.

HAVING examined with a cool candour, which even the culprits must admire, the merits of the three leading Pseudo Patriots in the southern states, from a desire to equalize the disgrace, I purposed, in the present number, to exhibit a true picture at full length of one of our northern patriots : but our southern brethren are determined to maintain their superiority, and to convince the world, that their warm sun is as favourable to the production of *false* patriotism, as it has been allowed to be to the vegetable "Republic."

William Blount, before a late disgraceful disclosure, was unquestionably entitled to a *section* in my chapter of *democratic memoirs*. But the rank which his former merits had deservedly acquired for him, was indisputably below some of our *noted* and notorious editors, paragraphists and *town-meeting orators*. But local partialities should have no effect upon the judgment of candid and impartial memorialists ; and I am compelled reluctantly to assign to citizen Blount a higher seat in the synagogue of Jacobinism, than the most distinguished patriot in New England. The citizen, who has of late occupied and arrested the public attention, and who has joined his talents with those of Arnold and Randolph, in proving the assertion of Fauchet, "that the consciences of the *pretended* patriots have all of them their prices," was a patriot of 1775. He was a member of the old revolution-



ry congress, and acted a conspicuous part in those "times which tried men's souls." He too had the merit with A—ms, H—k, C. H—tch, and citizen F—s, of having risked *his* neck in defence of his country's liberty, and like one of them, he evinces daily his *zeal* for freedom by exercising despotic power over his fellow creatures of *fable hue*. Like the same *worthy patriots*, so abundant is his ardour for liberty, that he adores it in every age, in every clime. The French and the Irish demand and receive his sincerest sympathy. Their struggles for freedom are so interesting to these amateurs, that they overlook with the calmest apathy the horrors of revolutionary times, and view, with philosophic coolness, the slaughter of millions who have fallen victims to the *stern goddess* of Jacobinism.

Indeed the admiration and esteem of these *true* patriots seemed to increase with the bloody scenes of the revolution, and they appeared to have adopted the refined and truly liberal sentiment, that it were better that the whole nation be extinct, if one pair only remained to propagate the principles of liberty and equality, and to maintain inviolate the holy right of insurrection.

Such was the merit of Mr. Blount, and no man dared to question the integrity or the purity of his principles. He was a decided friend to the magnanimous republic, and so blinded by his friendship, that he saw nothing but generosity and justice in her conduct, and nothing but ingratitude and perfidy in the conduct of *his* country. He was radically hostile to Great Britain. Her every act, was in his eye, proud oppression, or rapacious insolence. The negotiation of his government with her, was no other than mean submission, and servile sycophancy. Thus characterized, and strongly featured, as the partizan of France, the foe of Britain, Mr. Blount was detected in an attempt to embroil his country in the present desolating war. Can it be permitted to be doubted, on which side Mr. Blount *really* engaged his talents? Can it be believed that any person can be so blinded by party zeal as to believe that he was sincerely promoting the British interest? The only *colour* arises from the terms of his letter, the traitor's simple assertion. Against this we have the evidence of Mr. Liffon. Let both their declarations be rejected; and let us search for *higher* testimony, the testimony of *reason*. To honest men, to men who love their *own* country above any foreign nation, to native and virtuous Americans, it is of no importance whether the French or British corrupt our citizens, insult our government, or violate its jurisdiction. But the Jacobins, who are the creatures of France, have ever attempted

tempted to connect and unite in the public mind, our administration with that of the British government. This has invariably been the insidious policy of the *leviathan republic*. Her cunning masters knew full well that by exciting a suspicion of British influence, honest minds would rather throw themselves into the scale of France, than be liable to such a disgraceful imputation. The event has justified the soundness of their policy.

In this case of Mr. Blount, the wickedness of party spirit has contrived to throw a censure upon our own administration by inculcating the British minister, and by insinuating a connivance to screen him from detection.

To prove his innocence therefore, and throw the burden of this infamous transaction upon the *real* authors is the incumbent duty of every well-wisher to his country. The guilt of Mr. Blount is no longer a question with any party. Who his abettors and coadjutors are, the Jacobins with their usual effrontery and falsehood have undertaken *hastily* to decide. But a more solemn examination awaits them. At the tribunal of American justice, this question will be seriously tried. Their pitiful shifts and evasions;—their bold and unfounded assertions, will not there avail them.

But the real offenders will stand convicted in their genuine colours; in the livery of the French and Spanish ambassadors. As the subject is novel as well as interesting, I shall trouble the public with one more number on the intrigues of Patriot Blount.

ASCANIUS.

#### THE PSEUDO PATRIOT. No. VIII.

IT would be sufficient for the immediate object of my essay, to prove, as clearly as I think I have done, that William Blount is deservedly classed among the most eminent Pseudo Patriots. A moderate man would also be satisfied with so precious an example in full illustration of his assertions. But I wish to convert it to an higher object. An useful lesson may be drawn from this mortifying instance of treachery, which may serve to open the eyes of the people to discover their *real* friends, to discern their most *dangerous* enemies. Wolves who come in sheep's clothing, and tyrants and traitors, who array themselves in the robes of patriotism, are the more to be dreaded, as their approaches are least known, as their machinations are more insidious.

On the first rumour of Blount's detection, all his class, the whole horde of false patriots, from the *heart* at Philadelphia to the *extremities* in Georgia and Maine, appeared in a state of convulsion. Every nerve in the Jacobin body was violently agitated. Actuated by *one* soul, moved by *one* impulse, they instantly resolve *generously* to sacrifice their co-patriot, Blount, and lay his sins at the door of the British minister. In doing this, with their usual cunning and foresight, they accomplish two important objects; they screen from deserved odium their patrons and masters, the French directory, and they heighten the popular prejudices against their old enemies the British ministry.

Every paltry scribbler, from the *Aurora* to the *Chronicle*, adopts the same arguments, uses the same language, pursues the same system. They content themselves with bold assertions, and oblique insinuations. They despise the ordinary weapons of fact, argument and common sense. In opposition to their charge against the British minister, it has been said by writers at Philadelphia, in New York and at Boston, with force and energy, that Blount was a Jacobin, a pseudo patriot, a hater of the federal government, a partizan of France, a reviler and bitter calumniator of Great Britain, senator from a Jacobin state, a state mad with French enthusiasm, that he was intimate with Mr. Jefferson and a promoter of his election, that he was a stranger to the British minister, the confidential friend of chevalier Yrujo, the Spanish minister, that he is the brother of Tom Blount, *the gentleman*, one of the hottest advocates of French *lenity*; the bosom friend of Butler, Giles, Gallatin, and all the French party; that Pierce Butler and T. Blount were his bail; Dallas and Ingersoll, two Gallico-American patriots, his counsel; and Nicholas and Gallatin his advocates in congress. All these things the Jacobin writers and French hirelings do not deny; they would deny them if they did not know that they could so easily be proved.

And yet, my fellow citizens, is it to be credited, that our bellowing patriots yet pretend to believe that this patriot sacrificed his old attachments; forgot his old prejudices; smothered his deep and rancorous enmity, and volunteered himself in the service of the minister of Great Britain, against his old friends, the French *republicans*, and their *new* ally, the *king* of Spain. I may say, without apology, that the thing is incredible. Bad as I esteem the Jacobins, and as I despise the pseudo patriots, I do not think them capable of such base ingratitude and villainy: I will not degrade them so low, as the *Aurora* and *Chronicle* would sink them.

It



It has been said further by able writers, and with more energy and argument than Ascanius is master of, that it is impossible that the British ever did, or ever could encourage this plot; that situated in their neighbourhood, we should have discovered some preparations in Canada; that they have not the power, as they have been weakened and reduced by this impoverishing war; that Canada is in a state little short of insurrection, and that Great Britain is too disheartened to undertake new offensive operations, and will be happy if she can support a defensive war without internal convulsion. That she appears at present disposed to cultivate a good understanding with the United States, which a measure of this kind would wholly interrupt. That on the contrary, France has every motive and every fascinating inducement to the enterprize; glory—the pride of conquest—desire of humbling her enemy by endangering her colonies—the wish of wiping off the national stain and of healing the wound of Gallic pride, inflicted by the gallant Wolfe, in the conquest of Canada. The advantage of being *near* the United States to overawe their councils by the sublimity of their power, of being at hand to aid their faithful servants, the American Jacobins, in their plans of disorder and confusion; to aid our judgments in the choice of our Presidents and other public officers; and occasionally of *squeezing* a few *voluntary* loans from their sympathetic fellow republicans in the United States, after the manner of Holland, Italy and Spain. These motives, I repeat, have been ably urged as sufficiently weighty, to induce the belief, that our modest allies were really at the bottom of this alarming conspiracy, and that with their common integrity and purity, they engaged an American senator, with their ordinary openness they attempted to cajole a British minister, and with their usual address they are now slipping their own necks out of the collar to place it on his. Oh! my fellow citizens, how long will you suffer yourselves to be deceived? How long will you suffer these pseudo patriots to bestride your hobby horse of patriotism, and ride it blindfolded to your destruction?

ASCANIUS.

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### THE PSEUDO PATRIOT. No. IX.

**H**AVING examined and detailed with the candour of an impartial biographer, the history and demerits of four leading and exclusive patriots in the southern states, I now propose

propose to render equal and impartial justice to the *deserts*, and *services* of four northern heroes.

The public, I am convinced, will not understand from this declaration, (and I would undeceive the *patriots themselves* if they conceive it,) that I am to devote as much time and as many pages to their *narrow* history, as I have done to the *patriotic colloquies* of the southern hemisphere.

It would be an insult to the public to bestow as much time in describing the *natural history* of a snail, as in reciting the monstrous properties of the elephant. Our patriots are undoubtedly of the same GENUS with the others; they have the same leading *characteristic* marks, and would be placed in the same "order" by political botanists, for the same reason that naturalists have classed together, *Man-monkey* and a *bat*.

But though the *genus* be the same, the *species* is effectually and materially diverse. The character of the *one* is elevated. The objects of ambition of that *species*, are important and distinguished; but those of the other, low and grovelling. The *first* aim at the highest seats in the Jacobinic synagogue; the last are contented to be placed at their *foot stools*. Like jackalls they submit to consume the offals which the proud lions have refused. Be it my task then, to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto Cæsar's humble sycophants and imitators, the things that are theirs. Hitherto I have openly used the real names of the *worthies* whom I endeavoured to render immortal; but as we are now at *home*, and as the characters are so well known, that my description of them cannot fail of being understood, I shall hereafter use fictitious distinctions.

This method will have this peculiar advantage, that if the garment does not precisely fit, the culprit will not put it on, nor will a candid public compel him to wear it.

Old Syphax is now held up as the leader, the object of admiration and even worship of the 'patriotic' clan; he is therefore to be presumed to be the most perfect as well as the most important character in their "party," still however to every *federalist*, to every friend to order and decorum, his age would be a sacred inviolable protection; they would not imitate the ferocious fury of the Jacobin writers, who with savage rage, have attempted to despoil the silvered locks of the invulnerable Washington.

But Old Syphax has quitted the *sanctuary*, he has thrown away the talisman of age which would have protected him. By descending into the mean, the little intrigues of party spirit; by lending the *sacred* majesty of years, of experience,  
of

of sage decrepitude, of public reputation, and of "Public Office" to support the violent and outrageous exertions of Jacobins, in attacking characters, whom he ought to have defended, in maintaining principles which he ought to have despised, and in weakening and overturning a government, which he had solemnly sworn to defend and support, Syphax has in my opinion forfeited all claims to our respect, to our forbearance, to our toleration. I shall therefore treat him with the frankness of republican manners which he *professes* to admire, without that profound respect to age, which his example warrants me to despise. Syphax was born under a *regal* government, before revolutionary principles, which threaten to restore the Gothic age, had made their appearance. To what cause we must attribute his early hatred of existing government, whether to his misfortune in executing a "trust" reposed in him by the town, his pecuniary disarrangements, or to a native antipathy to regular authority, or if he pleases, *kingly* administration, can never be determined. Suffice it to say, that like Tom Paine, he was an early and zealous advocate for freedom; like him, he had once the honour of writing "Common Sense," and like him, he has laboured to pull down the *edifice*, one of the corner stones of which, he claims the merit of having laid.

Man's character and principles, must not be estimated by single facts, but by the general tenour of his life. The fallen angels, according to the fanciful Milton, once participated in the celestial glories and happiness.

Syphax may have rendered, as he boasts, essential services to his country; but can we never balance the account? Is the claim, like French gratitude, to encrease with our payment? Can no ill conduct obliterate his merit, or diminish his pretensions to respect? If Syphax has deserted the men and the principles which established our independence; if he reviles Washington, abuses John Adams, his relation and fellow patriot, or associates with and patronizes pseudo patriots, who are guilty of these things—

If he opposed the federal constitution in its formation, and despised the voice of the "People," if he has thwarted its administration, and tried to defeat its operation, if he vilified the patriot Hancock, induced many honest men to oppose and despise him, and then courted, flattered, supported and defended him; if he has sought with *avidity*, though with *disinterested professions*, power and *personal aggrandizement*, without relaxation, and with a gormandizing appetite; if in place of maintaining the *real dignity* of the state, he converted his office into the means of increasing his own popularity,

if



he gratified his *spleen* by refusing offices to men who were best qualified to fill them, and by promoting creatures and minions, who had only the merit of being his sycophants and the revilers of the federal government, shall we *modestly* suffer this man to descend into the grave with the reputation of a patriot, and with the undeserved sanctity of a real republican? No, my fellow citizens, we must bid adieu to the respectability of our government, when we neglect to keep up the solemn barriers between virtue and vice, between honest love of country and deceitful pseudo patriotism.

ASCANIUS.

#### THE PSEUDO PATRIOT. No. X\*.

THE "Jacobiniad," so honourable to the *genius* of our country, has described with such singular felicity the exterior merits of "Lank Honestus, with his lantern jaws;" and the "Observer," with great facetiousness, has exhibited this ghastly Colossus of Patriotism so much to the satisfaction of his fellow-citizens, that to a pen like that of Ascanius, not gifted with the powers of genuine ridicule, nor aided by the suggestions of fancy, little remains to be written. Still, however, as I contemplate a regular system of Pseudo Patriotic history, and as this patriot, who is "identified" under the signature of Honestus, is one of the smaller *animalcule*, necessary to perfect the unity of any design, I shall ask a little patience to the developement of his character and merits.

Honestus is one of those *musbroom* opposers of the Federal Government who, with shameless effrontery, have classed themselves with the *real* patriots of 1775. But let it be known as extensively as his present infamy, that at that celebrated period, and during the whole of our revolutionary contest, this man sought a mean asylum in obscurity. In the year 1786, when his country was groaning under the effects of an expensive war which he had not the *spirit* to support; when discontent prevailed among all descriptions of citizens, and faction began to rear its terrific head, this monster, delighting to prey on the miseries of his country, and wishing to inflame and increase the evils which threatened its existence, made his public *debut* in the character of Honestus. By an unprincipled appeal to the passions of the desperate and distressed debtor, he excited an odium, not against one "Order" whom he professed to *destroy*, but

\* A Friend, who is intitled to my respect, having expressed a belief, that the manner in which I have treated the Pseudo Patriots will render them of more consequence by dragging them from an obscurity to which their insignificance had destined them—I shall hereafter forbear to enter into a minute disquisition upon their defects.

ASCANIUS.

against *Justice* herself, and against *her ministers* the Judicial Courts. Co-operating with discontent, he exerted all his *feeble* powers with the aid of an *arch juggler* behind the scenes, to kindle the holy flame of insurrection.

Murder, rapine and lawless confusion stalked before his delighted imagination, and he indulged the sanguine hope, that wild anarchy desolating this happy country and destroying every vestige of genius, would leave some room for unprincipled dullness.

Much merit, Honestus has with unusual modesty assumed to himself, from having been the midwife to these publications. The deserts of a writer, however, can only be measured by the effects which his performances have produced. The *Professed* objects of his compositions, were, to prove that Lawyers were an *useless* and dangerous order of men, which ought to be abolished; and secondly, that the system of American Laws were complex and burdensome, and that they might and could be simplified in such a manner that every citizen might become his own Lawyer. Mr. Honestus soon after came into the highest branch of the State Legislature, in which he has remained from that period nearly to the present. And yet this learned patriot, with such monstrous systems in his head, with so clear and comprehensive a view of our municipal jurisprudence, has accomplished neither of his objects. The Lawyers are doubled in number, encreased in consequence, more fixed in the public confidence, not discouraged by any new burdens, but fostered by favourable acts, and the whole code of "musty laws and worm eaten authorities" are still unabrogated.

If the publications of Honestus have failed to produce any *beneficial* effect upon the community, let us see to *what purposes* they have been, in *fact* applied.

In their origin, they had in view the inflammation of popular passions. They seized the occasion of public ferment, to sail down the current of popular prejudice. The motives of a writer can only be ascertained by a candid retrospect of his conduct. If instead of converting the fruits of his midnight labours, and ill-earned fame, to the public good, to support honest principles and the public weal, he has applied them solely for his own aggrandizement, for the gratification of a base and sordid ambition:—If he has planted the battery of his falsehoods in hostility to every thing which is commendable in government, to every honest patriot and deserving citizen: If he has represented himself as a martyr to Freedom, as the object of the malignity of tyrants and aristocrats, that he might create a sort of *apotheosis* to the character; if he

has

has uniformly vilified and abused the first of Patriots and the best of men, and has patronized beings the most insignificant, and has associated and combined with citizens the most corrupt, what shall we say of this man's virtue, what opinion shall we form of the sincerity of his professions?

Let us examine the facts. The first use made by Honestus of the wicked reputation he had acquired, was to bring his *own father* into the Senate:—But panting for distinction, and preferring to jostle out *even his father*, for the sake of being in the place, he came the next year into the Legislature. Here by Newspaper falsehoods; by tavern spoutings; by street-corner harangues; by town-meeting eloquence, he has contrived to keep himself fixed, till the barefaced infamy of his principles, and the immoderate zeal for personal emolument and distinction opened the eyes of the people, and then like a Theatrical spectre he sunk into the abyss from whence he emerged. Not content with a seat among the *fathers* of the State, this modest patriot has three times pushed himself as Federal Representative. In this measure, he has done an irreparable injury to his country. By appearing *openly and avowedly as his own patron and advocate*, he has gone far to introduce the indelicacy and corruption of European elections:—But he shall not pass down the current of disgrace undistinguished. Let it be recorded, that Honestus was the *first* citizen of *Massachusetts*, who introduced the dangerous practice of *British* elections, by spouting forth his own merit, and by endeavouring to stain the reputation of his invulnerable opponent, Mr. AMES.

But Honestus did not write for *Fame only*. The "*Sacra AURI Fames*," so strikingly portrayed in the ghastly lineaments of his countenance, formed no contemptible part of his character. "*Gold*," which has been so often the burden of his Chronicle "*Ditties*," always glittered irresistibly among the objects of his pursuit. Republics are generally poor and always economical, says Montesquieu: but in his day *State Lotteries* were seldom known, and *College Lotteries* never heard of. Is it a fact, that this patriot Honestus, writing for *public good only*, has contrived to croud himself and his brother also, into the only profitable places in the gift of the *Republic*? Is it a fact, that he opposed the *College Lottery* till he was assured that he and Mr. K——d should *both* be Managers, and did he then vote for and strongly advocate the bill? Is it a fact, that the *College* have always been troubled to procure from him a settlement of his accounts? and can it be true that he has never paid the highest prize, but that a note for the balance of it is now in the  
Massachusetts



Massachusetts Bank? If these things are so, cease ye babbling Cynics, and charge not this man with pursuing the empty bubble Fame, for his pursuits are more solid; his objects are more durable.

But the virtue, the unspotted *purity* of Honestus is more striking in the choice of his companions. Consistency we all know is not a *Democratic* attribute, but decorum should have dictated to our Patriot some *Selection* in his intimate associates. He had been the enemy of *Lawyers*, the professed foe of the whole order; he had denied all of them *any* merit; he had declared in so many words, "that no *Lawyer* ought to be admitted into *any* public office." And yet Mr. Burr, one of the most artful Lawyers in the United States, was held up by him in the Chronicle as Vice-President: Randolph and Munroe have both been extolled by him to the skies, for their infamous abuse of the Federal Government, and yet they are both regular, practising Lawyers. Nath. Freeman, jun. Esq. has been the praise and the boast of the Chronicle Scribblers, and upon their principles very deservedly; and yet the Bar are obliged to consider him as a professional brother. In Boston, two Lawyers, one celebrated for his talents, and the other not remarked for them, have been his private, as well as town and Club meeting companions; have been put upon the same list with him, and pushed into the Legislature.

Mr. Honestus has been bitter against all speculators, particularly speculators in land, and yet he has fostered and taken under his *genial* and widely extended wings, two striplings of the Bar; two "*Twigs of the Branch*" who have been the *very soul*, the *animating spirit* of land speculations. One of these young gentlemen he has depicted to his party as the quintessence of political sagacity and talents, and by persuading him to avow his "*Jacobinical*" creed, he has been able to push him as Representative of this town, when he had but scarcely passed his teens. Can this inconsistency be reconciled with any possible degree of political rectitude, or even moral honesty? will it be pretended that *all* these men are exceptions to the ordinary frailties of the Bar, and that they are more pure, more virtuous, and less corrupt, than an Ames, a Gore, an Amory, or a Minot? Forbid it decency! Honestus, with his brazen front, will not pretend it, but if he has any feeling left, must retire forever from a theatre, a scene of action, on which his political sins; his overweening ambition; his craving avarice; his gross inconsistency, and his want of moral principle have been so clearly, so fully, and so fairly displayed.

## APPENDIX TO ASCANIUS.

HAVING suspended the prosecution of the original design, from a fear of offending the *tender* feelings of some *honest* Federalists, who thought that the foregoing productions were uncandid and severe, the author owes it to himself to justify his conduct to the world.—It has ever been the cunning policy of the Jacobins, disorganizers, or enemies to Government, to represent themselves to be the *people*, and the *real* people to be a *Faction*. In conformity to this subtle plan, though they profess respect, the most profound, for the constitution, yet they contend that it is *administered* by an aristocratic faction. In vain do the people *fancy* that they are free, and that they *freely* depute biennially the most able citizens to represent them; still the Jacobins assiduously labour to persuade them, that they are the dupes of a tyranny the most dreadful, from which nothing but the introduction of *themselves* into *power*, will relieve them. From this politic scheme they derive strength and influence incalculable. First, they excite the *jealousy* of the people; a *passion* which is the jaundice of Liberty, which poisons all the springs of public confidence, and undermines the fabrick of Freedom. Secondly, they become the *assailants*, an advantage which generally secures victory in political as well as military manœuvres. Thirdly, by taking this ground they become the calumniators of their opponents, and of course enlist under their banners the credulity of vulgar minds, which is always prone to fasten and feed itself upon slander. Fourthly, this plan increases the number of *neutral* characters lately called *Trimmers*, who dread the lash of opposition: animals, who flourish and abound in free countries, who may be fairly denominated “*make weights*,” who are more noxious to a country infested with factions than open and avowed foes; who are of no value, and in no estimation with either party, in quiet times, but who in turbulent periods, when faction assumes a terrific visage, meanly cringe before it (thinking men saw *many* such in the time of the “BRITISH TREATY RIOT”). These *moderate* politicians as they *modestly* stile themselves, abhor the violence of *party*; they boast that they are as equally opposed to *warm* Federalism, as to burning *anarchy*—thus basely deserting the cause of Government, under pretext of its being ruled by a *party*, they *really* become a powerful aid to the cause of disorganization. The writer of Ascanius has with many others seen and regretted this sad effect of Jacobin intrigue, but being sanguine in the high destinies of his country, he has not wholly despaired of the Republic.

He entertained the belief, that if the friends of Government would treat its enemies as they deserved, would call treason by its

its proper name, expose faction in its dark recesses, and vindicate the honour of the nation with firmness, the Constitution and Liberties of his Country might yet be saved.

In tracing the outlines of a few factious men, he has however been mortified in observing truth branded with the name of severity—in finding firm friends to order, shrink at seeing disorganizers depicted in the colours of nature and of fact—and in hearing his defence of the Government against anarchy charged with partaking of *party* spirit.

Still, however, the writer feels no reason to reproach himself for uttering a single sentiment contained in his publications, and he never will subscribe to the absurd proposition, that the *administration* in a free elective government can ever be deemed a *party*, or that their opponents can be any thing more than a *faction*.

ASCANIUS.

HAMILTON



HAMILTON *versus* MUNROE;

OR

Great Talents contrasted with Folly; and Public  
Virtue with Public Infidelity.

THE late able and manly refutation of the base calumnies against Mr. Hamilton, late secretary of the treasury, (while the occasion which compelled him to the measure, is universally lamented) has displayed in glowing colours his disinterested patriotism, and the unspeakable meanness of his persecutor James Munroe, Esq. To the narrow mind of the rigid moralist, Munroe may have obtained a paltry triumph over his magnanimous opponent. To *such men*, to whom the passions of others form no apology for occasional errors—who are virtuous from necessity alone, or from the absence of temptation, or who think that their vices are shrouded in impenetrable secrecy—the candour, the magnanimity, the firmness, the *disinterested* virtue displayed by the late secretary, are absorbed and annihilated by the solitary failing which he has so frankly confessed; while Munroe in the opinion of *such men*, merits a statue, for burrowing into the sacred recesses of private life; for volunteering as a domestic spy, for conjuring up perjured testimony, to convict one *great man* of a single *peccadillo*.

But to those, who like the writer, measure the merit of a character, not by a single action, but by the general tenor of a life; who know how to pardon the occasional weakness of human resolution, and who will not permit one error to fully a reputation honestly acquired by a series of disinterested services, it will be a gratification to inquire into the motive of that *zealous puritan*, who has been raking, not among the “EVER-GREENS” of the secretary’s *public reports*, but amidst the ashes of his *private amusements*, to find the means of blasting the memory of a man whose public merit threatened to render him immortal. When Munroe basely recorded the testimony of Clingman, a man rendered infamous by frauds upon the treasury, when he faithlessly divulged the facts to his Jacobin friend in Virginia, and made him the confidante of a charge, which he had before confessed to be malicious and unfounded, and which he had solemnly engaged to suppress; when he insidiously supported that wretched emigrant, that outcast of his own country, Callender, in reviving a ridiculous tale so long dormant and wholly forgotten; when he artfully parried the searching inquiries of the *man* whom he endeavoured to traduce, that he might  
compel

compel him to a defence as *mortifying* as it was *necessary*: was this *immaculate* but *disgraced* ambassador actuated solely by patriotic motives? by a regard to the public interest? by a wish to bring to public punishment a public defaulter? If such were his motives, why did he permit the infamous charge to lie unexamined during the three last years of the secretary's public life? No new evidence has transpired since he privately received the testimony of Clingman, and yet the charge is renewed under his auspices with fresh and reiterated malignancy, and a virtuous officer, who retired from an arduous station, because it would not afford him an existence, is again charged with having purloined vast sums from the public treasury, for the purposes of base speculation. — Here then the *ci-devant* ambassador is reduced to choose between the most criminal neglect of his public duty, if he gave credence to the declaration of Clingman, and the most shameful malice against the secretary, if he did not believe it. But evidence of a less equivocal nature is before the public, by which the baseness of his motives is rendered absolutely certain.

In his replies to the injured Hamilton, he admits, that upon his former explanation he was *perfectly convinced*, and that he *expressed* his satisfaction, that the Secretary's official character was not in the least degree implicated in the affair of Reynolds. — If Munroe had chosen to deny this truth, the testimony of Mr. WOLCOTT would have established the fact beyond contradiction. All discerning men can then judge, as well as Mr. Munroe, whether the *smallest* weight could possibly be given to the testimony of Clingman, after having declared himself satisfied with the EVIDENCE produced before the *self-created* court of *voluntary inquiry*. Indeed Munroe himself acknowledges in his late correspondence, that this new evidence had not produced any decisive effect upon his mind, but "that he had reserved the right to form an opinion after he should have heard the Secretary's defence. — Wretched subterfuge! Miserable pretext! Thus the contemptible calumniator hopes to screen himself under the inviolable sanctuary of private opinion: but the pretext of private judgment forms no barrier against a charge of malice, when the grounds of that opinion are in possession of the public, who are the ultimate arbiters. If it were otherwise, the greatest culprits would escape with the reputation of integrity, and even Munroe himself might hope to find an apology for the prostitution of his official duty, by the flimsy pretence of *honest intentions*. — This last idea brings me to the consideration of his real motives in renewing the charge against the invulnerable Hamilton. Recalled with every mark of public disgrace, from a situation in which he had forgotten the duty of the *minister*, in the passions of the *man*, and in the interests of *party*; conscious that he merited the frowns, if not the execrations of his fellow citizens; he flattered himself, that under a popular government, by the extravagance of his effrontery, in demanding a public inquiry, and by raising a hue and cry against a distinguished character in the nation, he might, under

under the cover of a mist which he should raise, shrink without remark into his original obscurity. We owe to the undaunted firmness of Mr. Pickering, in offering to disclose his *private* reasons for advising Munroe's recal, and to the magnanimity of Mr. Hamilton, in sacrificing his own feelings at the shrine of public good, the complete defeat of all his plans and subterfuges; and the injured merchants of America can now behold, in true habiliments, and with merited scorn—to whom they are indebted for the plunder of a defenceless commerce, and for the faithless outrages upon their national rights.

Having fairly examined the motives which led Munroe to assail the reputation of Col. Hamilton, it may be amusing to *contrast*, for it would be insulting to the latter to *weigh* or *compare*, the characters and conduct of two men, who have been, for far different reasons, so famous in the modern history of America.—Nature has seldom exhibited more strikingly the whimsical and unequal distribution of her favours. To the Secretary she has been liberal even to profusion—To the Ambassador she has been parsimonious even to meanness. Upon the first she has bestowed imagination, invention, judgment, eloquence, rapid and correct perception, originality, and in short, every thing which enters into the composition of genius, courage, liberality, candour, intrepidity of character, and every other quality of the heart, which constitutes the *Hero*. From the latter she has withheld, with avaricious penury, all the ordinary indications of talent which make man respectable, and almost all the virtues of the heart which render him amiable. The *first*, if he had not rendered such signal services to his country, would still have been the object of admiration.—The *last*, if he had not disgraced the offices which he has enjoyed, would have been but the object of contempt. Thus situated in point of natural endowments, they started together at the beginning of our revolutionary war—engaged on the same theatre—urged by the same motives of just ambition—and possessed of the same local or adventitious advantages. The Secretary quitted the army, with the well-earned fame of an accomplished soldier—and the ambassador with a merely negative character, without having acquired any reputation whatsoever. In politics their fates have been still more at variance. Called to the head of the financial department of a young country, of a people unused to regular fiscal systems, opposed from habits and feelings to the necessary restraints of revenue laws, public credit prostrate, public accounts in a state of chaotic confusion, no man but Mr. Hamilton would have attempted the more than Herculean task.—But “the Secretary stood alone” He said, “Let there be light and there was Light.” Revenues unexpected, Resources hitherto unknown, were called into action—Public credit revived—Commerce flourished—America was grateful and Europe astonished. I am not dealing in Panegyric. If I wished to Eulogize, I should refer to the state of the Treasury, or to the contemporary plaudits of enlightened Europeans. While Hamilton

was



was thus proving, that he was the equal of Pitt, and superior to Necker, Munroe was pitifully attempting to prostrate public credit, and weaken the confidence of the people in the government; perpetually found in a miserable minority in the Senate, he seemed rather the humble minion of a foreign nation, than the dignified representative of an independent people. Sent at last to preserve the good humour and good faith of the nation, whose interest he had been zealously advocating at home, he certainly had it in his power to cultivate harmony and a good understanding between that nation and his own. How far he succeeded in that object, let our merchants who are now stripped of their property, and our seamen, who are now smarting under the lashes of our friendly allies determine. Whether congress will ever think him of sufficient consequence to be the object of impeachment remains yet to be decided. But the public have long been convinced of the *purity* and *patriotism* of the ambassador, since he declined the offer of Mr. Pickening in answer to his ridiculous Bravado.

I am aware that the hungry Jacobins, eager to catch every thing which may injure the just reputation of our late President, the *father* of his country, may suggest that he acted improperly in appointing such a character as Munroe, a man so weak and so devoted to France, to a *Legation* so important. I admit that an apology is requisite, and I rejoice that the occasion affords an adequate one. Mr. Morris was recalled in the zenith of Robespierrean tyranny; and such was the horror entertained by all the virtuous citizens of this country against those measures, that no man, not devoted to France, and who possessed the requisite abilities, would consent to be an useless witness of such a spectacle. But it was requisite that some minister should be sent, or our proud friends, always sufficiently ready to carp at our conduct, would have declared us in the coalition of tyrants. The president then had only the narrow choice, to take from among the humble sycophants of France, a man with talents, or a man without them. The latter after due deliberation he preferred. It was a choice of evils and that great and good man acted according to his honest conviction at the time.

If the event has been unfortunate, if the folly of our minister has rendered him the dupe of the artful politicians of France, it was one of the misfortunes to which this new revolutionary system has subjected us. But *this man* and *this minister* are equally entitled to our contempt, and we cannot determine which most to admire, his degradation of the American character abroad, or his unblushing folly in attacking Mr. Pickering and Mr. Hamilton, and thus provoking an enquiry so completely ruinous to his reputation.

IMPARTIALIS.

## LETTER

From Monsieur B—e M— —s, consul general from the late king of France to the United States, intercepted during the late war, in which the existence of French Influence is fully proved, and by which the *pretensions* of France to *American Gratitude* is proved to be *profoundly ridiculous*.

"TO THE COUNT DE VERGENNES."

"No. 225 Philadelphia, 13th March, 1782."

"SIR,

**S**OUTH Carolina again enjoys the benefit of a legislative body after having been deprived of it for two years. It was summoned together, and met in January, at Jacksonburgh, only ten leagues distant from Charleston, where deliberations are carried on with as much tranquillity as if the state was in profound peace.

Mr. Rutledge who was then governor opened the meeting with a speech greatly applauded, wherein he represents in their *full extent*, the important services by the KING to the United States.

This sentiment prevails much, sir. The several states are eager to declare it in their public acts, and the principal members of the government, and writers employed by them, would forfeit their popularity, were they to admit any equivocal remarks respecting the alliance.

General Greene assures me, that in no one state is attachment to independency carried to an higher pitch; but even that is *exceeded* by the *hatred* to the English. Mr. Matthews, a delegate lately arrived from Carolina, has, it is said, been chosen governor, in the room of Rutledge. He has communicated to persons of the most influence in that state the ultimatum of the month of ————last, who approved of the clauses in general, and "*particularly that one which leaves the KING MASTER of the terms of the treaty of peace or truce, except independency.*" A delegate from South Carolina told me that it was well known there, and had given entire satisfaction, and I believe I may assure you, upon the testimony of *several* other delegates that *this measure* is approved by a great majority.

But Mr. S— A—s, is using all his endeavours in the eastern states, and particularly Massachusetts, to raise a strong opposition to peace, *unless* the eastern states are thereby admitted to the fisheries and in particular that of Newfoundland. Mr. A—s delights in *trouble and difficulty*. His aim and attention are to render the minority of consequence, and he is at this moment attacking the constitution of Massachusetts, although it is principally his own work, because the "people" have shewn their uniform attachment to it.

He could not have used a fitter engine than the *fisheries* to stir up the eastern states; by renewing the question, he has raised the

the expectations of the people of Massachusetts to an extraordinary pitch.

The public prints hold forth the importance of the fisheries, and thereigning toast is, "May the United States ever maintain their right to the fisheries." However clear the *principle* in this matter may be, it would be *useless* and *even dangerous* to attempt informing the people through the public prints, but it appears to me *possible to use means* to prevent the consequences of success to this party, and I take the liberty to submit them to your discernment. One of these means would be for the "KING" to cause to be intimated to congress, *his surprise* that the Newfoundland fisheries have been included in the instructions—that the United States set forth therein, *pretensions* without paying regard to the *king's* rights, and without considering the impossibility they are under of making conquests and of keeping what *belongs to Great Britain*."—His MAJESTY might at the same time cause a promise to be given to Congress that he would give his assistance for procuring admittance to the *other Fisheries*, declaring however that he would not be answerable for the success, and that he is bound to nothing as the *Treaty* makes no mention of *that Article*—This declaration being made before the peace, the hopes of the people could not be supported, nor could it be hereafter said that we left them in the *dark on this point*. There are some judicious persons, to whom *we may speak of giving up the Fisheries*, and the boundaries of the west, for the sake of Peace, but there are Enthusiasts who fly out at this idea, and their numbers cannot fail of encreasing when the English are expelled this continent and when the war will scarcely be felt. But it is a *happy* circumstance that the *division in Congress* and in the several States is *nearly equal*, since our "Influence" can incline the Beam either for *Peace or war*. I submit these thoughts to you early, and though peace appears yet to be distant, Sir, yet that period will be a Crisis when the *partisans* of France and England will openly appear; when that power will employ every means to *diminish* our *Influence* and establish her own. It is remarked by some, that as England has other fisheries besides Newfoundland she may endeavour that the Americans should partake in that of the *Grand Bank*, in order to conciliate their affection, or create some jealousy between *them* and *us*. But it does not seem likely that she will act so contrary to her true interest, and *were she so to do*, it will be for the *better*, to have declared at an early period to the Americans, that their *pretensions* are not founded, and that his Majesty does not mean to support them.

I here inclose, Sir, Translations of the Speech made by the Governor of South Carolina to the Assembly, and of their answer. These *interesting* productions convey in a *forcible* manner the sentiments of the Inhabitants of this State, and appeared to me *worth communicating* to you.

I am, &c.

B———— M————

The



*The following are "Extracts" from letters written during the late war to a member of congress, by a person in an high official situation abroad, whose integrity, patriotism, and talents had never then been questioned, but which have since been assailed and often denied by the baleful influence of party spirit.*

*In the opinion of every honest American, the open and sincere declaration of his opinions, and the firmness and independence discovered in the following letters, will endear his memory to every true lover of American independence to the latest posterity.*

" Paris, Nov. 8th, 1782.

" **I**F Mr. Jay and I had yielded the punctilio of rank, and taken the advice of the C. de Vergennes and Dr. F. by treating with the English or Spaniards, before we were put upon the equal footing which our rank demanded, we should have sunk in the minds of the English, French, Dutch, Spaniards, and all the neutral powers. The Comte de Vergennes certainly *knows all this*—if he does not, he is not even an European statesman—if he knows it, what inference can we draw, but that he means to keep us down *if he can*, to keep his head under our chins, to prevent us from drowning, but not to lift our heads out of the water. The injunctions upon us to communicate, and to follow the advice that is given us, seem to be too strong and too universal—understood with *reasonable* limitations and restrictions, they may do very well. And give me leave to say, "it will not do to communicate every thing to my friend Chevalier de la Luzerne, or my friend Mr. Marbois: if they should be, long letters will lay the whole open to the C. de Vergennes, who, I assure you, I do not believe will assist me or any other man in such methods of serving our country. When the French ministers in America or Europe communicate every thing to us, we may venture to be equally communicative to them; but when every thing is concealed from us more cautiously, I believe, than it is from England, we shall do ourselves injustice if we are not upon our guard. If we conduct ourselves with caution, prudence, moderation and firmness, we shall succeed in every great point; but if congress or their ministers abroad suffer themselves to be intimidated by threats, slander or insinuations, we shall be duped out of the fishery, the Mississippi, much of the western lands, compensation to Tories, and to Penobscot at least, if not to Kennebeck. This is my solemn opinion, and I will never be answerable to my country, posterity, or my own mind, for the consequences which might happen from concealing it. It is for the determinate purpose of carrying these points that *one man*, who is submission itself, is puffed up to the top of Jacob's ladder in the clouds, and every other man depressed to the bottom of it in the dust. This is *my opinion*. If it is a crime to hold this opinion, let me be punished for it, for assuredly I am guilty."

" Paris,

" Paris, Nov. 17th, 1782.

" SIR,  
 " UPON my arrival here, I found Mr. Jay in very delicate health, in the midst of great affairs, and without a clerk. He told me that he had scarcely strength to draw up a state of the negotiation hitherto, but that he must do it for congress. I offered him the assistance which my secretary could afford him, which he accepted. No man has an higher sense than I have of the obligation of instructions to a deputy by his principal: it is a point of duty to observe them.

A French minister has only to ascend a pair of stairs, to propose a doubt, to offer reasons, to lay open facts for the advice or orders of his master or his council. A Spanish, Dutch, or English ambassador, has only to send a courier, and receive an answer in a few days. But we are at a vast distance: dispatches are opened, vessels are taken, and the difficulties of communication are without number. Facts unknown when instructions were given, turn up—whole systems of policy appear in a striking light, which were not suspected. Yet the time presses—All Europe waits—and we must act. In such a case, I know of no other rule than to construe instructions as we do all other precepts and maxims, with such limitations, restrictions and exceptions, as Reason, Necessity, and the nature of things *point out*. When I speak of this court, I know not that any other minister is included than that for foreign affairs. A whole system of policy is now as glaring as the day, which perhaps congress and the people of America have little suspicion of. The evidence now results from a large view of all our European negotiations. The same principle and the same system has been uniformly pursued from the beginning of my knowledge of our affairs in Europe, in April 1778, to this hour. It has been pursued in France, in Spain, in Holland, in Russia, and even in England. In substance it has been this—in assistance afforded us in naval force and in money, to keep us from *succumbing* and nothing more. To prevent us from *riding* ourselves wholly of our *enemies* and from *growing rich and powerful*—to prevent us from obtaining acknowledgments of our *independence* by other foreign powers, and from acquiring consideration in Europe, or any advantage in the peace but what is expressly stipulated in the treaties—to deprive us of the *Grand fishery*, the Mississippi river, the Western lands, and to saddle us with the tories. To these ends, by all I have learned of Mr. Dana's negotiations in Russia, Mr. Jay's in Spain, and — in Holland, it is evident to me that the Comte de Montmorin, the Marquis de Verac, and the Duke de la Vauquion, have been governed by the same instructions, viz. instead of favouring, to prevent if possible our success. In Holland I can speak with knowledge, and I declare that the Duke did every thing in his power to prevent —, and that I verily believe he had instructions so to do, until — declared to him that no advice of his, or the C. De Vergennes, nor even a requisition from

the king himself, should restrain — ; and when he found that — was a man not to be managed, that — was determined, and was as good as — word, and further thought — should succeed, he fell in with — in order to give the air of *French* influence to measures which *French* influence never could have effected, and which he thought would be carried even if he opposed them. The least appearance of *spirit* in any American minister has been uniformly cause enough to have his character attacked. Luckily, Mr. Deane out of the question, every American in Europe except “ — ” has discovered a judgment, a conscience, and a resolution of *his own*, and of consequence every minister who has been here has been frowned upon. On the contrary, “ — ” who has been pliant and submissive in every thing has been constantly cried up to the stars, without doing any thing to deserve it. These facts may alarm congress more than they ought. There is nothing to fear but the want of firmness in congress. *French* policy is so subtle, so penetrating and encroaching a thing, that the only way to oppose it, is to be steady, patient and *determined*. Poland and Sweden, as well as Corsica and Geneva, exhibit *horrid* effects of this policy, because it was yielded to ; whereas Switzerland, who never was afraid of France and was always firm, has found her an excellent ally for 150 years. If we are steadily supported by congress we shall go clearly to windward of them ; but if congress wavers or gives way, the United States will receive a blow that they will not recover in fifty years. We have nothing to fear from this court but in the particulars above mentioned.

The alliance is too necessary to them—we are too essential to them for them to violate the treaties or finally to disgust and alienate us. But they have not known, any more than England, the *men* with whom they have to do. A man and his office were never better united than Mr. Jay and his commission for peace. Had he been detained in Madrid, as I was in Holland, and all left to “ — ” as was wished, all would have been lost.

The thanks of congress in sound policy and in perfect justice are due to Mr. Jay for his able and faithful execution of his trust, both in Spain and for peace.

When we see the *French* intriguing with the *English* against us, we have no way to oppose it but by reasoning with the *English* to shew that they are intended to be the *dupes*.”

Signed

“ — ”



T H E E N D.